GÖTEBORGS ETNOGRAFISKA MUSEUM

ÅRSTRYCK

1975

Kvinna och man sittande med utsträckta ben. Negativmålad keramik från Carchiprovinsen i norra Ecuador. H. 10,5 cm. 75.12.9–10.

Female and male figures sitting with outstretched legs. Negative-painted pottery of the Carchi province of northern Ecuador. H. 10.5 cm. 75.12.9–10.

GÖTEBORGS ETNOGRAFISKA MUSEUM

ÅRSTRYCK 1975

ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUM, GOTHENBURG, SWEDEN

Annual Report for 1975

Innehåll/Contents

Editor: Kjell Zetterström

Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag
Kungsbacka 1976

BERÄTTELSE FÖR 1975

Etnografiska Museets råd har under året haft följande sammansättning: Ordförande, fru *Anita Torwald*, vice ordförande, löneintendenten *Östen Angerås* samt ledamöterna docenten *Alf Björnberg*, ombudsmannen *Roy Gustavsson*, professorn *Gunnar Harling*, fru *Irma Nääs*, ämneslärare *Bertil Rugarn* och biblioteksrådet *Folke Ström*.

Rådet har sammanträtt den 12/3 och den 20/11.
Lokalfrågan för de tre museerna i Ostindiska huset är alltid aktuell. Vid marssammanträdet samlades de tre museernas råd för att diskutera lokalproblemen. Vid detta sammanträde tillsattes en arbetsgrupp för att utreda dessa problem. Från Etnografiska Museets råd deltog hrr *Bertil Rugarn* och *Folke Ström* i denna arbetsgrupp. Gruppens resultat har redovisats i en PM vilken tillställts Museinämnden.

Etnografiska Museets arbetsgrupp har sammanträtt 8 gånger för att diskutera bl.a. budget-, lokal- och andra planeringsfrågor.
Personalmöten har i görligaste mån hållits varannan vecka.
Utbildningen i etnografi för museets personal har fortsatt, och under året har bl.a. visats ett antal etnografiska filmer.

FÖREMÅLSSTATISTIK

Under 1975 har 17 samlingar om totalt 121 föremål registrerats. Av dessa har 106 föremål köpts och 15 erhållits i gåva.

	S:a
Nordamerika	
Köp 4 föremål	4
Centralamerika	
Gåva 1 och köp 1 föremål	2
Sydamerika	
Gåva 12 och köp 29 föremål	41
Afrika	
Gåva 1 och köp 30 föremål	31
Asien	
Köp 9 föremål	9
Nya Guinea	
Köp 23 föremål	23
Ceylon och Bali	
Köp 10 föremål	10
Samer	
Gåva 1 föremål	1
	121

Ytterligare en samling, 75.18, har katalogiserats. Den består av 26 föremål från Perus kustland vilka inte varit registrerade tidigare.

AMERIKA

Nordamerika. Av Mr. Henry Menist, Amsterdam, har museet köpt två samlingar. 75.3.1 är en s.k. mud mask från Hopi-indianerna i södra USA. Samling 75.4.1-3 består av tre rökpipor av sten från USA:s östra skogsområde, förmodligen kan de tillskrivas cherokee-stammen.

Fig. 1. Pipa av sten, förmodligen Cherokee, USA. L. 12 cm. 75.4.3. Pipe of stone, probably Cherokee, USA. L. 12 cm. 75.4.3.

Centralamerika. En polerad stenyxa av svart bergart (75.15.1) från departementet Quiché, Guatemala, har skänkts av professor S. Henry Wassén, Göteborg. Professor Wassén har till museet sålt en modern, maskingjord vävnad (75.5.1) med motiv av flera djur från samma område.

Sydamerika. Samling 75.6.1-11 utgörs av ackulturationsföremål (kläder, fotogenlampor, sandaler m.m.) från Peru vilka sålts till museet av FK Lisbeth Bengtsson, Göteborg.

Museets förnämliga samlingar av sydamerikansk arkeologi har under året ökat med 35 föremål, huvudsakligen från Ecuador och Colombia. Samlingen 75.12.1-23 har köpts av departementssekreterare Ulf Lewin, Stockholm, och består av en tumi-kniv från Peru (75.12.19) samt halsband och keramik från Ecuador och Colombia. Det senare landet är representerat av tre halsband av snäckskal (75.12.1) respektive agat och kvarts (75.12.2-3), tre, ej sammanhörande, delar av ett fiskformat "rivjärn" av keramik från Tumaco (75.12.4-6) samt från Nariño två små runda kärl med människofigur i relief (75.12.7-8). Resten av samlingen, 10 föremål, kommer från Ecuador varav fyra från tidsepoken "Den Regionala Utvecklingen" (400 f.Kr. - 500 e.Kr.). 75.12.15 från Bahía avbildar en stående mansperson i helfigur som framför sig håller en (befäls-) stav. Lerfiguren har också en inbyggd vissla. En mindre men mer detaljerad stående mansperson i helfigur från Chone (75.12.16) bär huvudbonad, halsband, en skiva framför magen samt arm- och benklädsel. Guangala är representerat av två föremål: 75.12.17 är en stående mansperson i helfigur med "kaffebönsögon", ristad dekor på över-

Fig. 2. Kärl med människofigur i relief på utsidan. Nariño, Colombia. H. 13 cm. 75.12.7. Vessel with human figure in relief. Nariño, Colombia. H. 13 cm. 75.12.7.

Fig. 3. Stående mansperson i helfigur från Chone, Ecuador. H. 8,5 cm. 75.12.16. Standing male figure from Chone, Ecuador. H. 8.5 cm. 75.12.16.

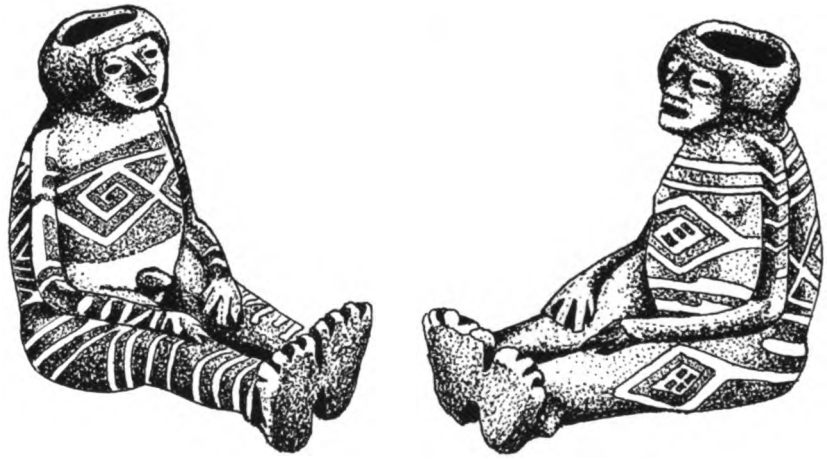


Fig. 4. Kvinna och man sittande med utsträckta ben. Carchi-provinsen, Ecuador. H. 10,5 cm. 75.12.9-10. Female and male figures sitting with outstretched legs. Carchi province, Ecuador. H. 10.5 cm. 75.12.9-10.

Fig. 5. Människofigur, atlant, med skål på huvudet. Carchi-provinsen, Ecuador. H. 18 cm. 75.12.12. Human figure, atlant, supporting a vessel on its head. Carchi province, Ecuador. H. 18 cm. 75.12.12.

kroppen och inbyggd vissla, medan 75.12.18 utgörs av en stående tjock mansfigur med händerna på magen och försedd med örhängen, halsband och stor huvudbonad.

Under den senare "Integrationen" (500 - 1500 e.Kr.) utbildas i Ecuadors norra högland en stil som utmärks av negativmålad keramik, "Negativo del Carchi". Typiska exempel på denna är 75.12.9-10 som bildar ett par av en sittande kvinna och mansperson med utsträckta ben samt 75.12.11-12 som avbildar en människofigur, atlant, som på huvudet håller och med armarna stöder en skål, eventuellt avsedd för förvaring av cocablad. Såväl figurerna som skålarna har karakteristisk dekor i negativteknik. Från kustprovinsen Manabí under samma tidsepok härrör de sista föremålen i samlingen, 75.12.13, en stående mansperson i helfigur, samt 75.12.14, ett litet keramikhuvud med örontrissor.

Professor S. Henry Wassén har till museet skänkt en samling om 12 arkeologiska sländtrissor från Manteño- (500-1500 e.Kr.) och Guangala-kulturerna (500 f.Kr.-500 e.Kr.) i Ecuador. Dessa halvannan centimeter stora sländtrissor är utsökta exempel på miniatyrkonst med en omfattande motivvärld. Denna samling, 75.17.1-12, innehåller till övervägande del zoomorfa motiv, t.ex. apa, jaguar, fladdermus, pelikan, pachotafågel och uggla. Två av sländtrissorna i samlingen (75.17.11-12) är dekorerade med ett geometriskt motiv. Sambandet mellan de ecuatorianska sländtrissornas motiv och symboliken över liv och död har nyligen på ett fascinerande sätt analyserats av Johannes Wilbert i "The Thread of Life. Symbolism of Miniature Art from Ecuador" (Washington 1974).

AFRIKA

Fru Anita Torwald, Olofstorp, ordförande i museets råd, har skänkt en trumpet gjord av elefantbete, 75.16.1. Trumpeten är från Övre Kongo och har använts vid vissa ceremonier.

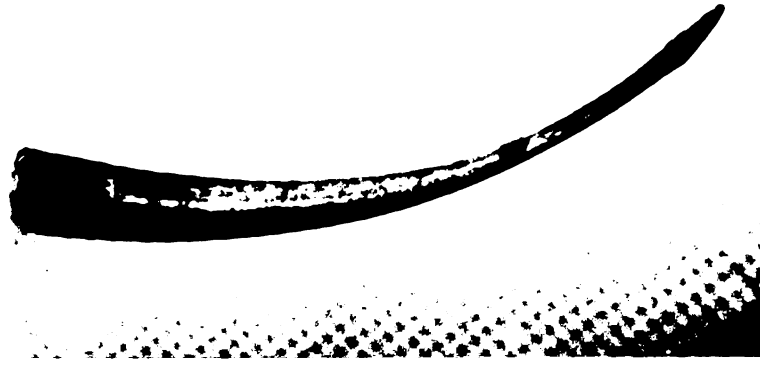


Fig. 6. Trumpet gjord av elefantbete, Övre Kongo. L. 150 cm. 75.16.1. Trumpet made of elephant's tusk, Upper Congo. L. 150 cm. 75.16.1.

Av konstnären Bengt Olson, Göteborg, har museet förvärvat tre samlingar. Samling 75.1. kommer från Ibo-folket i Nigeria. 75.1.1. är en hjälmmask av trä med en krona av två korsställda bågar, och 75.1.2. är en statyett av trä föreställande en kvinna som håller en stav i sina händer.

75.7.2. är en staty av trä från Bamileke i Kamerun. Den föreställer en stående mansfigur som lyfter händerna mot hakan. Stilen erinrar om Bafu något längre söderut.

Fig. 7. Hjälmmask från Ibo, Nigeria. H. 50 cm. 75.1.1. Helmet mask, Ibo, Nigeria. H. 50 cm. 75.1.1.

Fig. 8. Staty av trä, Bamileke, Kamerun. H. 55 cm. 75.7.2. Wooden statue, Bamileke, Cameroon. H. 55 cm. 75.7.2.

Fig. 9. Tshifwebe mask. Songye, Zaïre. H. 43 cm. 75.13.1.

Fig. 10. Stenverktyg från Nya Guinea ur samling 75.9. Stone implements from New Guinea. Coll. 75.9.

75.7.1. är en mask av trä från Baulé i Elfenbenskusten. Masken är av en ovanlig typ och utgörs av ett ansikte med två platta, bakåtböjda horn.

75.13.1. är en tshifwebe-mask från Songye (Yembe) i Zaïre. Maskens hjässa är försedd med en kam vilket antyder att det är en manlig mask. 75.13.2. är en dubbelmask från Ibo, Nigeria.

Samling 75.14.1-23 består huvudsakligen av masker från Liberia vilka inköptes under mitt fältarbete hösten 1975.

ASIEN

75.2.1-9 är en samling textilier från norra Indien vilken insamlats av herr Geza Nagy, Göteborg.

NYA GUINEA

Av herr Karl Ströder, Papua, Nya Guinea, har museet förvärvat samling 75.9.1-23. Den består av klädesplagg, stenyxor samt stenklubbor vilka använts vid bearbetning av bark (bast).

CEYLON OCH BALI

Fil.lic. Kurt Frankman, Göteborg, har till museet sålt samlingarna 75.10 och 75.11. Samlingarna består av statyer, masker och vävnader från Ceylon och Bali.

SAMER

75.8.1. är en docka föreställande en skidlöpare i samisk dräkt av Karesuando-snitt. Gåva av fru Gun-Britt Johansson, Göteborg.

Fig. 11. Mask från Ceylon (Sri Lanka). H. 40 cm. 75.11.1. Mask from Ceylon (Sri Lanka). H. 40 cm. 75.11.1.

BIBLIOTEK, ARKIV OCH KATALOGER

Referensbiblioteket

Biblioteket har i år ökat med 559 katalognummer (21.938 - 22.496) varav genom köp 116, byte 309, gåvor 127 och egen produktion 7.

Institutioner som bidragit till biblioteket är American Museum of Natural History, New York, Amerikanska Ambassaden, Stockholm, Arkeologiska Museet, Warszawa, Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm, Latinamerika-Institutet, Stockholm, Nordiska Museet, Statens Kulturråd, Statens Planverk, Utbildningsdepartementet samt Wenner-Gren Foundation, New York.

Enskilda givare är mrs. Jane P. Dwyer, San Francisco, dr. Margarethe Hald, Köpenhamn, dr. Günther Hartmann, Berlin, herr Gunnar Hedman, Göteborg, fil. kand. Gun Hellqvist, Göteborg, sr. Olaf Holm, Guayaquil, Ecuador, museiintendent Sven-Erik Isacsson, Göteborg, museichef Lili Kaelas, Göteborg, dr. Clyde Keeler, Milledgeville, Georgia, pastor Bo Lundmark, Uppsala, dr. Georgio M. Manzini, Medellin, Colombia, dr. Luis Iberico Mas, Cajamarca, Peru, ms. Helena Pradilla, Bogotá, Colombia, dr. Joel Sherzer, Austin, Texas, professor S. Henry Wassén, Göteborg och museichef Kjell Zetterström, Göteborg.

Bildarkivet

En ökning har skett med 166 bilder (18.897 - 19.062). Ett stort antal av dessa bilder är från mina fältforskningar i Liberia.

Negativarkivet

har under året ökat med 226 katalognummer (11.207 - 11.432).

Skioptikonarkivet

har ökat med 137 diabilder i färg (2.782 - 2.918). De flesta av dessa bilder framställdes till utställningen "Indianernas Vilda Västern".

Kartarkivet

har ökat med två nummer (368 - 369) och

Diskoteket

med ett katalognummer (511).

Filmarkivet

har ökat med ett katalognummer (11). Filmen handlar om de svenska skogssamerna.

Mikrofilmarkivet

är nyupprättat och omfattar 3 katalognummer.

Ljudbandsarkivet

har ökat med 4 katalognummer (7 - 10).

Pressklipparkivet

har under året tillförts material dels genom museets egen pressbevakning, dels genom gåvor.

MUSEAL VERKSAMHET

UTSTÄLLNINGAR

"Etiopien - utveckling och underutveckling" sattes åter upp på museet den 21/1 efter att ha visats på ett antal platser i Västsverige.

"Former för måltiden" som visats i Göteborgs skolstyrelses lokaler togs ner den 31/1. Den har senare under året varit uppställd på Vänersborgs Museum.

Under tiden 1/2 - 6/4 visades utställningen *"Barnets värld"* vilken kom till i samarbete med Göteborgs Historiska Museum. Utställningen visade de olika

Fig. 12. Detalj från utställningen "Indianernas Vilda Västern". Scene from the exhibition "The Wild West of the Indians".

Fig. 13. Barnens lekhörna på "Indianernas Vilda Västern". The children's playground at the exhibition "The Wild West of the Indians".

miljöer och villkor under vilka barn i skilda kulturer lever.

Delar av utställningen *"Vildar? Indianer i Brasilien"* visades den 17/2 - 13/4 på Folkets Bio i Göteborg av Svensk-Indianska Förbundet. Utställningen sattes sedan åter upp på museet och visades fram till den 14/9.

Den 14/6 öppnades utställningen *"Indianernas Vilda Västern"* i Kronhuset. Avsikten med utställningen var dels att visa prärieindianernas kultur och historia, dels att demonstrera vad museet kan åstadkomma i en större utställningslokal. I utställningen fanns flera miljöer (se fig. 12), ett blockhus, filmsal och lekhörna (se fig. 13). Inte minst den senare blev mycket uppskattad. Under den tid utställningen visades (14/6 - 31/8) besöktes Kronhuset av 21.461 personer.

Fotoutställningen *"Min by Coco - scener ur kvinnans dagliga liv i Elfenbenskusten, Västafrika"* visades under tiden 22/9 - 19/10. Bilderna hade tagits av M. Benoit Gnamien, Elfenbenskusten.

Den 1/11 öppnades utställningen *"Ñandutí - spetsarbeten från Paraguay, Sydamerika"*. Det utställda materialet hade ställts till museets förfogande av fru Marta Fällman, Göteborg. Utställningen visades fram till den 14/12.

Den 7/12 var sista dagen för utställningen *"Karibu - Tanzania"*.

Från den 19/12 visas ett antal *"Paracas-textilier"* ur museets egna samlingar.

SKYLTFÖNSTER ETC.

5/10 Museernas Dag, expertpanel, "Etnografisk trekamp för barn och vuxna" (poängskytte med blåsrör, föremålsjakt, gissningstävling om diverse föremåls användningsområde) samt filmvisning (om eskimåer och skogssamer). Barnpassning med sagostund i kaféet.

31/10 Skyltfönstret N. Hamngatan: "Chi wara-masker från Bambara" (Mali, Västafrika).

UTLÅNADE FÖREMÅL

10/2 Alingsås Museum

25/2 Västerbottens Museum

19/3 Mölndals Kulturnämnd för utställning i Mölndals Stadshus

25/4 Alingsås Museum

7/5 Kulturhuset i Stockholm

22/5 Konstindustriskolan i Göteborg

23/5 Musikhistoriska Museet i Stockholm

27/5 Arkeologiska Museet i Warszawa

PERSONALIA OCH ÖVRIG VERKSAMHET

PERSONAL

Museichef	Kjell Zetterström
Intendent Amerikas indiankulturer	Sven-Erik Isacsson
Intendent Afrika, Asien etc.	Vakant
Extra amanuenser	Gun Hellqvist (tjänstledig 8/4 - 14/12) och Gun Magnusson 20/1 - 12/12
Kanslist	Maj-Britt Berglund
Konservators-assistenter	Evert Berndtsson och Olle Svartholm
Magasinsförest.	Yngve Brink-Wall

AMS- OCH ÖVRIG PERSONAL

Alf Bergström, verkstad
Michael Cornell, sakregister (f.o.m. 8/9)
Gustaf Henriksson, verkstad
Roland Kock, magasin
Stein Lango, teckning
Ingrid Midsem, utställningar
Sven-Erik Roth, magasin (f.o.m. 28/8)
Gunilla Sonnhagen, textil (f.o.m. 3/11)
Rojza Sznajdman, bibliotek
Bengt-Ove Thorstensson, magasin (18/2 - 8/6)

TJÄNSTERESOR

Följande resor har under året företagits av museichefen:

8/1	Etnografiska Institutionen i Uppsala
13-14/3	Etnografiska Institutionen i Uppsala och Etnografiska Museet i Stockholm
29/4 - 5/5	Arkeologiska, etnografiska och historiska museerna i Warszawa. Resan företogs på inbjudan av det arkeologiska museet i Warszawa med anledning av att vårt museum lånat ut ett antal föremål till en arkeologisk utställning om det forna Peru
22-23/5	Etnografiska Museet och Kulturhuset i Stockholm
28-30/7	Etnografiska museerna i Köpenhamn och Århus
19-20/8	Etnografiska Institutionen i Uppsala
28/8 - 4/11	Museer i Paris samt fältarbete i Liberia. Resan företagen på inbjudan av LAMCO, LIBERIA.
	- - -
30/11 - 5/12	besökte konservatorsassistenterna Evert Berndtsson och Olle Svartholm Museum für Völkerkunde i Berlin
2-4/4	deltog amanuens Gun Magnusson i en kurs anordnad av Invandrarnas Kulturcentrum i Stockholm
5/12	gjorde fröken Ingrid Midsem och amanuens Gun Magnusson en studieresa till Stockholm ordnad av Göteborgs museers studiecirkel i utställningsteknik. Vid detta tillfälle besöktes Riksutställningar, Kulturhuset och Nordiska Museet

ÖVRIGT

Antalet besökare i Ostindiska huset (gemensamt för tre museer) har under året varit 129.893. Etnografiska Museet har haft besök av 12.941 skolelever varav 223 klasser om totalt 4.876 elever från annan kommun än Göteborg.

Museet har under året besökts av ett stort antal vetenskapsmän och studerande. Speciellt är det museets samlingar av sydamerikansk textil som tilldrar sig internationell uppmärksamhet.

Under året har Göteborgs Etnografiska Museums Årstryck för 1974 utgivits.

PUBLIKATIONER

Hellqvist, Gun	*Barnets världar*. Stencil, 9 pp. till utställningen med samma namn. Göteborg 1975.
Isacsson, Sven-Erik	*An Enigmatic 17th Century Colonization Among the Oromira Indians in Western Colombia: Some Preliminary Notes.* Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum, Årstryck 1974:46-48. Göteborg 1975.

Magnusson, Gun — *Indianernas Vilda Västern.* Stencil, 4 pp. till utställningen med samma namn. Göteborg 1975.

" " — *The Wild West of the Indians.* Stencil, 4 pp. Göteborg 1975.

Wassén, S. Henry — *En nobelpristagares berömm åt museiintendenter och museer för deras egen skull.* Svenska museer nr 2/1975, sid. 77. Luleå 1975.

Zetterström, Kjell — *Berättelse för 1974.* Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum, Årstryck 1974: 3-22. Göteborg 1975.

" " — *Tales from the Yamein Mano.* Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum, Årstryck 1974: 23-45. Göteborg 1975.

LOKALER M.M.

Under året har salen "Södra Sydamerika" renoverats. Avsikten är att till denna sal och anslutande trapphall koncentrera hela Sydamerikas etnografi. Arbetet med denna utställning, liksom med Burma-utställningen, har påbörjats.

Ett rum i Wilsonska flygeln har iordningställts för konservering av textilier.

En 16 mm filmprojektor samt en ny ljudanläggning har inköpts.

Omslagsbilderna samt fig. 2, 4 och 5 har ritats av museets tecknare, Ingrid Midsem. Konservatorsassistenten Olle Svartholm har tagit samtliga fotografier.

Göteborg i augusti 1976.

KJELL ZETTERSTRÖM
Museichef

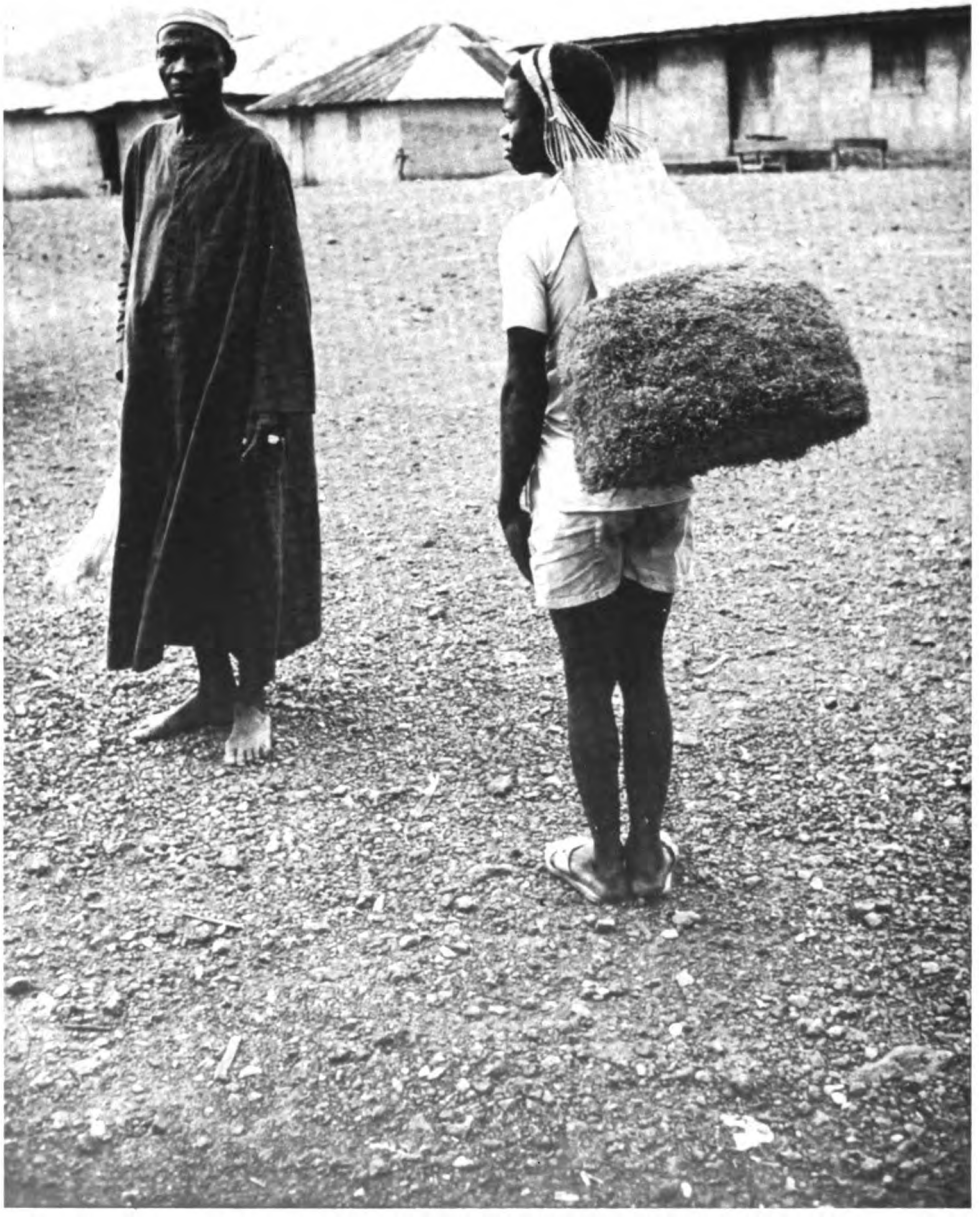


Fig. 14. Se Duky in New Bapa with boy carrying the *fea biing*.

REPORT FROM LIBERIA.

By

Kjell Zetterström

In 1975 LAMCO offered me to go to Liberia to continue my field-work among the Yamein-Mano of Northern Liberia. I was lucky enough to secure the assistance of my old interpreter and field-assistant, Mr. Joseph Yeaney, now working with the YMCA in Yekepa.

The collecting of data was done in September-October 1975. I did interviews in several of the towns belonging to the Yamein Clan. I, however, concentrated myself on three informants namely Se Duky in New Bapa, Yii Doo in Gbelay and Duu Seh in Gbapa. These men are rather old and are regarded by the Yamein people as the best informants as regards history and old traditions.

In my book on the Yamein Mano (1) I have hardly touched upon such topics as kinship terminology, social and political structure, law etc. I now devoted most of my time to these topics and hope that I will be able to publish my material in the near future. Here follow just a few notes from my field-work in 1975.

The Name of Yamein.

Ya mein means "on the other side of the Ya (River)" and it was maintained that this name was used by the Sanniquelli Mano about the Mano living north of the Ya River. The original name of this area, however, was *Gbelay sele*, "the land belonging to Gbelay". To *Gbelay sele* belonged all the present towns of the Yamein Clan except Gbapa which belonged to the Saye Clan located south of the Yamein Clan. There were another three towns belonging to *Gbelay sele* namely Kuaten, Lonwin, and Lukle which are now in Guinea.

Political and Social Structure.

The ruler of *Gbelay sele* was called *sele daami* (sele = land, earth; daa = father, owner; mi = man, person). He was regarded as the owner of the land, being a descendant of Zo Fie and Guluzei; the latter was the founder of Gbelay which soon became the headquarters of the area. He had jurisdiction over the whole area and could order warriors from all the towns of the *Gbelay sele* in case of hostilities. He had to be consulted in serious matters and he served as an arbitrator when there were conflicts between towns in his area.

Tugbayayu was the *sele daami* when the fighting in Gbelay took place (in 1911?). He died during the presidency of Daniel Howard and was succeeded by

(1) The Yamein Mano of Northern Liberia. Uppsala 1976.

his daughter's son named Maatoo. Tugbayayu did not have any son who could succeed him. Maatoo was also named Dulu Daa as he was the father of Dulu. It is maintained that Maatoo assisted the Liberian soldiers in locating Gio towns in the Sakleipie area as the Liberian government was trying to extend its authority over the hinterland. It is said that Maatoo did this because the Liberians had once helped the people of Gbelay against the French soldiers.

He was succeeded by his son Dulu who had served in the Liberian army and after him came Glorglor Suah (the first to be actually called clan chief), the father of the former Paramount Chief of the Sanokole - Mah chiefdom, Bonah Suah, who is the present *sele daami* of the *Gbelay sele*.

They did not pay actual taxes to the *sele daami*. It was stated that he could work on his farm but that he did that only "for exercise". His children did most of the work. Also the people in Gbelay joined to make a farm for the *sele daami*. When the rice was harvested, each family in town brought him some.

The *sele daami* was addressed as *domi*, to address him by name was regarded as impolite.

When in council, the *sele daami* was lying on a sheep-skin, one elbow resting on his stool. In the beginning, he was the only one to have a stool. Later also other important persons were allowed to have a stool. The stool of the *sele daami* was taken care of by an official called *tangla se mi* (tangla = stool; se = to take; mi = person). He was usually a *bali* i.e. a sister's son of the *sele daami*. He also had a cow-tail and a necklace with attached leopard-teeth to show that he was a man of high standing.

When the *sele daami* was travelling he was accompanied by flute-players and a singer. He was also accompanied by the *biing se mi* who was carrying the *fea biing*, the travelling bag seen in the picture on page 16. The *tangla se mi* and the *biing se mi* was the same person. The bag contained clothes and other things which the *sele daami* needed on his travels. To the bag were attached bells (deli) which announced that the *sele daami* was coming. Being a *tangla se mi* or *biing se mi* was regarded as a position of high status.

In the other towns, the highest official was the *sele domi* (do = to build). He was the descendant of the founder of the town. He appointed a *plei domi* (plei = town) whose duty it was to investigate and try to settle matters of less importance. Later they used the title *piika* (= speaker) about the *plei domi*. *Plei domi* is the title which they use today about the present, elected, town chief.

In a town there were also the quarter chiefs, *gbing daamia*. The *gbing daami* was responsible for his quarter and harmonized matters between its members. If members of different quarters were involved the *gbing daamia* of these quarters handled the case. If they were unable to settle the matter, it was turned over to the *sele domi*.

The elders were referred to as *gwei kulu*. They were consulted when there was a serious matter to consider.

Next to them were the *mana woo*, men who were neither young nor old. A man became a *mana woo* upon the completion of the Poro bush. It was said that *Mana* is the actual name of the tribe and not *Mãã* as they call it today.

Young men (boys) are called *goã ne* and young children (both boys and girls) *nõõ kle*.

Young women (girls) are called *loã ne* and very old women *loã kulu*. There is no term for women corresponding to *mana woo*.

The oldest man and woman in a town is referred to as *mi gbuo* (big person) and are paid special attention to on certain ceremonial occasions and are given the chest, heart and liver of a sacrificed animal. To address a *mi gbuo* by his name is an insult. A *mi gbuo* is called e.g. *Ko daa* (Ko's father) if he has a daughter by that name or *Se li* (Se's mother) if she has a son by that

name.

Yoane woo were men of special importance, they were next to the *sele domi* in rank. They belonged to the *Ki la* association.

Members of the *Teng ki* association were *mana woo*. When they were having a meeting, the *ki la mia* and the *teng ki mia* were sitting in separate groups. A decision taken by the *teng ki mia* could be changed by the *ki la mia* who were of a higher rank. It was not allowed to use the term *ki la mia*, they were always referred to as *yoane woo*.

Law.

Matters of less importance were handled by the quarter chiefs. If they were unable to settle a case it was handed over to the *sele domi* who usually asked the *plei domi* to investigate the matter.

The meeting which the *sele domi* called to hear a case in town was called *gbun* (approx. = getting together). The *sele domi* was facing the audience and on both sides were the *gbing daamia*. The only person allowed to sit behind the *sele domi* was the *tangla se mi*. The group, consisting of the chief and the elders who were to judge the case, was called *gbun da mia*.

Plaintiff is called *yo ya mi* (yo = bad; ya = to set, to put; i.e. a person who puts something bad on another person. It was regarded as something bad to make a complaint against another person). There is no special term for defendant.

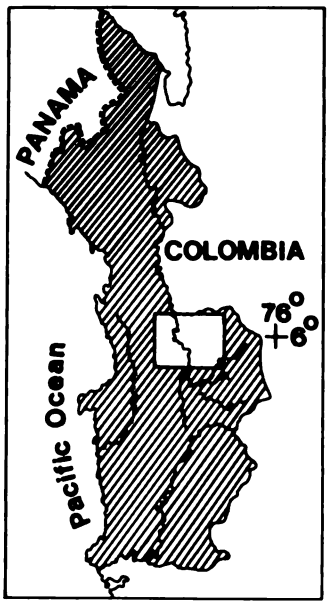
If the case was a very serious one, like murder or woman-palaver, the *sele daami* and *sele domia* from the other towns were called in to judge the matter. This group was also referred to as *gbun da mia*.

There is a saying in Mano which reads like this: "If a tree has fallen on you, you will not be able to lift it up alone." When the tree (the serious case) has fallen on a chief he will not be able to lift it (solve the case) alone, therefore he has to call the other chiefs. Murder and woman-palaver were regarded as serious cases because they could both result in fighting and killing. Murders were, however, not very common. The fine for a murder was two cows; one cow was given to the victim's family, the other was eaten by the townspeople.

Manslaughter was regarded as a less serious crime than murder. A murderer was not given a very strong support by his own people in court. They did, however, always assist in paying the fine. If they did not have enough cows, they had to pawn a child in order to get a cow.

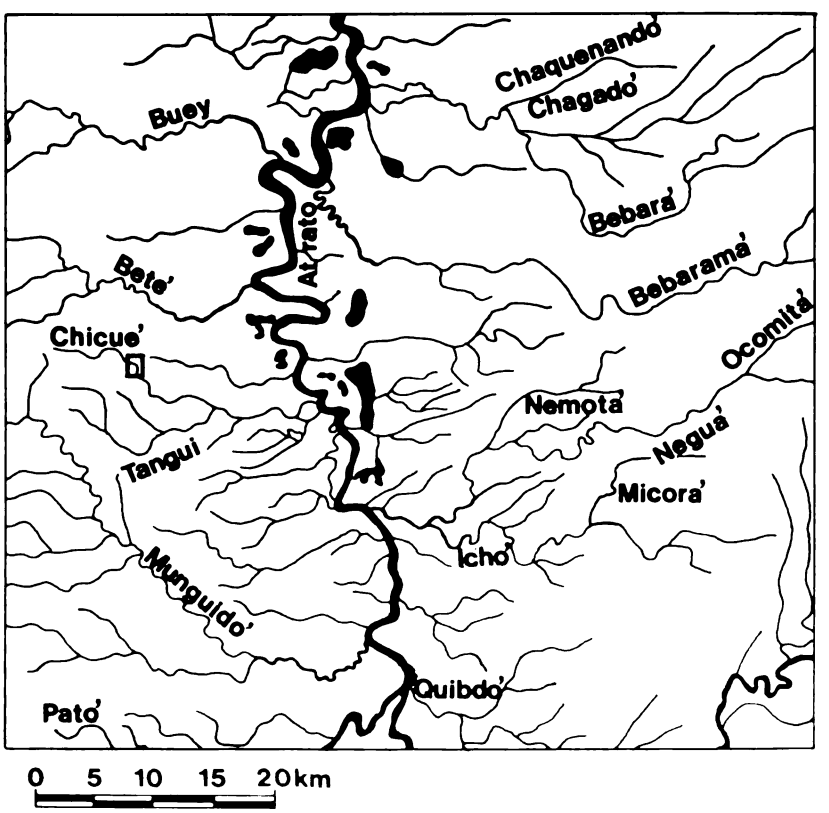
It was always the *sele daami* or the *sele domi* resp. who made the final decision, the other members of the *gbun da mia* could only advise him, A decision by the *sele daami* or a *sele domi* was without appeal. A person not satisfied with the verdict of a *plei domi* or *gbing daami* could appeal to the *sele domi* for redress.

It appears as if the object of the law was not so much revenge and punishment as the restoring of peace and balance. "Harmony" and to "harmonize matters" are very common expressions in this context.



Map 1. The department of Chocó of northwestern Colombia. The rectangle indicates map 2 below.

Map 2. The upper Atrato river basin. The small rectangle on the Chicué river corresponds to map 3 on page 28.



OBSERVATIONS ON CHOCO SLASH-MULCH CULTURE

Work diary and dietary of an Emberá domestic group in mid-eastern Chocó, Colombia.

By

Sven-Erik Isacsson

Preface.

The northern Pacific Littoral of Colombia is characterized by a hot, humid climate and a dense vegetation cover of tropical rain forest. The area falls under Koeppen's Af classification and the average annual rainfall has hardly any counterpart in the rest of the world. The maximum is reached in the area of this study, the upper Atrato Basin, where the station in Quibdó has registered an annual average of 10,545.7 mm and the mining community Andagoya an average of 297 rainy days per year (West, 1957:25, 29).

The ecological implications of such extreme climatic conditions on regional cultural development have summarily been touched upon in several earlier works. This short paper proposes to visualize these generalizations on Chocó ecology by means of a concentrated and rather detailed survey limited to a natural economic and social unit among the Emberá Indians, the extended family. As it does not pursue nor render an overall description of the Chocó region nor of the Emberá group possible, it is advisable to consult competent works like Reichel-Dolmatoff 1960, 1962a, and 1963, Sharp 1970, Wassén 1935 and 1963, and West 1957. Some aspects of Chocó material culture which so far have been omitted in the literature will, however, be dealt with more thoroughly.

Several earlier studies are based on field work among specific family groups and Bennett (1968) chose a single "representative" group of eleven persons for an ecological inquiry from Darién, Panamá. Similarly, in 1972 the author of this paper spent five months (Jan-Apr, Sept) with an Emberá family group consisting of ten persons in the upper Atrato Basin. Some observations are here presented in the form of a commented work diary which was kept for those eight members of the family who, somehow, contributed to the economic maintenance during five consecutive weeks. 31 categories of occupation were annotated per individual and per time-unit of 30 minutes between 6 a m and 9 p m, the habitual awakening and sleeping hours. Simultaneously, diary notes were kept of the total catch of fish and game food, agricultural yields, gathering as well as of the food intake per adult person and day.

Respecting the general validity of this brief work diary, the following remarks should be noted: 1) After a period of acquaintance of two weeks with the family, a strict passive observation was aimed at when the diary was kept, with as little interference as possible into the daily activities of the family. 2) During these five weeks no concentrated activity of seasonal character occurred which could have seriously distorted the result. 3) Likewise, the occupations that are presented in the diary are carried out regularly throughout the year. 4) The work diary was kept from Jan 20 to Feb 25 and fell, consequently, in a period when the precipitation is somewhat less than usual; 20 rainy days occurred which is normal. This area does not have any dry season whatsoever. 5) The relevance of each category in the diary is generally discussed and compared with experiences from field work carried out by the author among Emberá groups in Baudó (July 1969, Jan-March, July 1971) and Bebaramá/Bebará/Neguá (Apr-May, Sept 1972, Jan 1975). Finally, a return visit to the family was made in Jan 1975.

Introduction: migration and settlement.

The Tanguí is a small and sparsely populated stream which discharges its waters into the Atrato river about 33 km downstream Quibdó, the capital of the Chocó province. The first settlements and cultivations of the sedentary Negro population on the Tanguí come into sight only after a winding canoeing-cruise five km up the small river through the extensive and desolated backswamp area which parallels the narrow and low natural levees along the banks of the Atrato river.

Scattered for a distance of eight km along the lower course of the Chicué river, tributary of the Tanguí, there are 12 Negro settlements intervened by sporadic, tilled sections in mostly secondary forest surroundings. The only Indian dwelling on the Tanguí/Chicué is to be found about ten additional arduous km from the last and uppermost Negro house upstream a tapering and blocked Chicué. The male head of this household, Carlos, was born about 50 years ago in the headwater area of the Bebaramá river, an eastern affluent of the Atrato. He arrived at the Chicué about 20 years ago to settle there with his third wife who had come to the Chicué from the Pató as a girl with her father and stepmother, whose family, in turn, shortly before had colonized the Chicué and Tanguí with other Indians from the Capá river (Atrato headwaters) in pursuit of arable land within comfortable distance from Quibdó.

The Capá people built their first house on land already staked out by Negro proprietors and, consequently, had to move upriver where the river banks still were considered baldíos, unappropriated. Their second dwelling, a conical tambo, was located about 500 m below the actual house now occupied by Carlos and his family. Afterwards, another tambo was built upriver and, finally, the present house of the rectangular rancho type was raised at the mouth of the Bacao, a small rivulet, by Carlos' father-in-law. Carlos himself has enlarged the house and, now and then, mended its roof. By Carlos' own statement, the capaseños made a lot of row among themselves, in particular about wife-preying, and died out as a result of malignant medicine-men's poisoning of the people. Nowadays there are no Indians living on the Tanguí, but 20 years ago there were three dwellings along its upper course, erected by Indians who had arrived from the Capá as well. When Negro colonizers moved upriver and cleared the land, the threatened Indians abandoned their settlements and left for Darién in Panamá. Also in this case some bewitchment was called upon, and a vigilant, alien Indian from the Baudó river sold their land to the Negroes on the Tanguí.

The pattern of settlement of the Emberá community in mid-eastern Chocó has changed considerably during the last few decades. Mainly for economic reasons the majority of the population has left the isolation in the source-stream areas and has found its way downstream or even migrated to other rivers, establishing a more intimate contact with the Negroes. During Carlos' stay on the Bebaramá 30 years ago the Indian settlement of the river was restricted to the headwater area where it amounted to ten dwellings, gathered within two km along the river. In 1972 they had been reduced to three houses, two of which were ramshackle. On the other hand, a good deal further down the Bebaramá there are nowadays seven Indian houses, out of which six are situated within a distance of three km. At least two of them are just ranchos which the Indians have taken over or borrowed from the Negroes. The latter, who live near the mouth of the Bebaramá or on the Atrato proper, have most of their cultivations along the Bebaramá, where they have raised simple ranchos as temporary habitations during the sowing- and harvest-time. This recent intrusion by the Emberá settlers is generally disapproved of by the Negroes and causes frequent controversies about boundaries and rights of usufruct.

Despite the relatively short distance involved, the colonization downstream has brought a conclusive change in the relations with the outer world. As the torrential Bebaramá river is unfit for any riverine communication with its upper course, the headwater area can only be reached along steep and slippery paths, exclusively used by the Indians. A journey between the headwaters and

Quibdó - as the crow flies, 45 km - requires six days of grievous walking and heavy canoe-punting. On the other hand, the Indians on the lower Bebaramá, using the easy trail to the neighbouring Nemotá river, can disembark in Quibdó the very same day.

Adjacent rivers present similar demographic trends. The Neguá has several tributaries with a scattered Emberá population, but among these only the rapid Ocomitá river is isolated by river from the lower Neguá, and its native population, reduced by epidemics and emigration, now occupies only two dwellings. The formerly inhabited lower affluents are now settled by a few families which have left the headwaters of the Ocomitá and Bebaramá. Along the lower Neguá there are three recently mounted habitations and on the Micorá, affluent of the Ichó river, presently four houses are to be found, out of which two are raised by emigrants from the upper Bebaramá and the Ocomitá, respectively.

The Nemotá river, route of communication between the Neguá and the Bebaramá, has been worked for aluvial gold since the colonial epoch, and its tomas or sluices constructed for that purpose, are a vexing and dangerous obstacle to the canoeist. Devoid of any native population in earlier post-colonial times it has recently become the home of two families from the Bebaramá and Ocomitá. In early 1975 the number of family groups and habitations had increased to four; Indians from the Bebaramá were erecting a round tambo nearby and downriver a family from the San Juan river had settled in a house of the *kapuniá dé* type ("Negro house"). As the Nemotá traditionally has been considered Negro land, the Indians have requested permission to take up abode along the banks of the river. Though they are exposed to abuses and to deteriorated fishing-waters as a consequence of the mining activities, the Indians prefer these inconveniences to the social and economic isolation in the headwater areas.

The Bebará river runs parallel with the Bebaramá to the north in a similar geographical setting. Its six Emberá dwellings which were reported to have existed about 30 years ago, have by now been reduced by one half. Downriver the situation is reverse: the lower Bebará has only recently been populated by Indians from the upper Bebará and the Bebaramá, now occupying six houses with the following distribution: Bebará 2, Chaquenando (affluent) 3, and Chagadó (affluent) 1. A very rugged and impassable forest terrain makes the upper course of the Bebará even more inaccessible, and the explanations given by Emberá informers to their move downriver are identical to those mentioned on the Bebaramá and the Neguá: a desire for facilitation of communication and transport as well as an intensified exchange of commodities. Accordingly, the economic dependence and the limited resources cause a serious social disorder within the Emberá communities, accompanied by an apparent increase of protecting *jaibaná*, medicine-men, on the family level. On the other hand, the economic consequences in general have been slight for the people who have emigrated to other, more accessible affluents of the Atrato River, the domestic group on the Chicué included.

The town of Quibdó on the Atrato river depicted by an Emberá Indian.

Table 1. WORK DIARY (totals of hours) JAN 20 - FEB 25, 1972 (6 a m - 9 p m)

Occupation	Carlos, 50 years	Wife, 40	Son, 20	Daughter, 22	Son-in-law, 25	Son, 14	Son, 11	Son, 7	Totals	Average per day
1 The dwelling	7.5	1	2	-	-	1	2	-	13.5	0.4
2 Maize:sowing and harvest	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(2.1)
3 Musa:clearing and planting	-	10	7	16	14	7	10	3	67	1.8
4 Musa:harvest	3.5	27.5	-	25.5	4.5	6.5	3	5	75.5	2
5 Other cultiv.plants:harvest	3	5.5	7.5	4.5	5	17	16.5	11.5	70.5	1.9
6 Gathering of wild plants	-	2	-	2.5	0.5	-	-	-	5	0.1
7 Domestic animals	10.5	2	2	-	1	5	0.5	-	21	0.6
8 Fishing:spear	13.5	2	26.5	-	30.5	44	36.5	5.5	158.5	4.3
9 Fishing:angling	1	3.5	3	-	3	11.5	11.5	3.5	37	1
10 Fishing: piscicide	-	-	3	1	4	5.5	4.5	2	20	0.5
11 Fishing:other	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	0.05
12 Hunting:shot-gun	1.5	-	48.5	-	48	33.5	8	-	139.5	3.8
13 Hunting:bow	-	-	8	-	-	3.5	-	-	11.5	0.3
14 Hunting:lance	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	2.5	-	5	0.1
15 Hunting:other	12	-	7.5	-	1	8	1	0.5	30	0.8
16 Agricultural implements	0.5	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3.5	0.1
17 Fishing tackle	-	-	1.5	-	3.5	1.5	-	-	6.5	0.2
18 Hunting gear	0.5	-	14.5	-	7	4	-	-	26	0.7
19 Basketry	0.5	17	-	6	1.5	0.5	0.5	-	26	0.7
20 Basketry:for sale	-	14.5	-	18	-	-	-	-	32.5	0.9
21 Personal belongings	2.5	2	16	9	27	2	-	-	58.5	1.6
22 Preparation of food	4.5	279.5	2	185.5	-	3	0.5	-	475	12.8
23 Supply of firewood	5.5	2	6.5	4	3.5	-	-	-	21.5	0.6
24 Washing of clothes	-	7	-	7.5	-	-	-	-	14.5	0.4
25 Construction of dug-outs	84	2	40	0.5	32	17.5	14.5	3.5	194	5.2
26 Water transport:work	23	1	9	0.5	6	3.5	3.5	-	46.5	1.3
27 Travels and trade	57.5	57	60	-	-	58.5	-	58.5	291.5	7.9
28 Playing and games	-	-	-	-	-	22.5	123.5	253	399	10.8
29 Rest	271	100.5	240.5	110.5	160.5	278.5	181	182	1524.5	41.2
30 Sleep	18	18	14.5	24	14	21	21	27	157.5	4.3
31 Absence	32.5	-	32.5	139	188.5	-	114.5	-	507	13.7
Totals	555	555	555	555	555	555	555	555	4440	

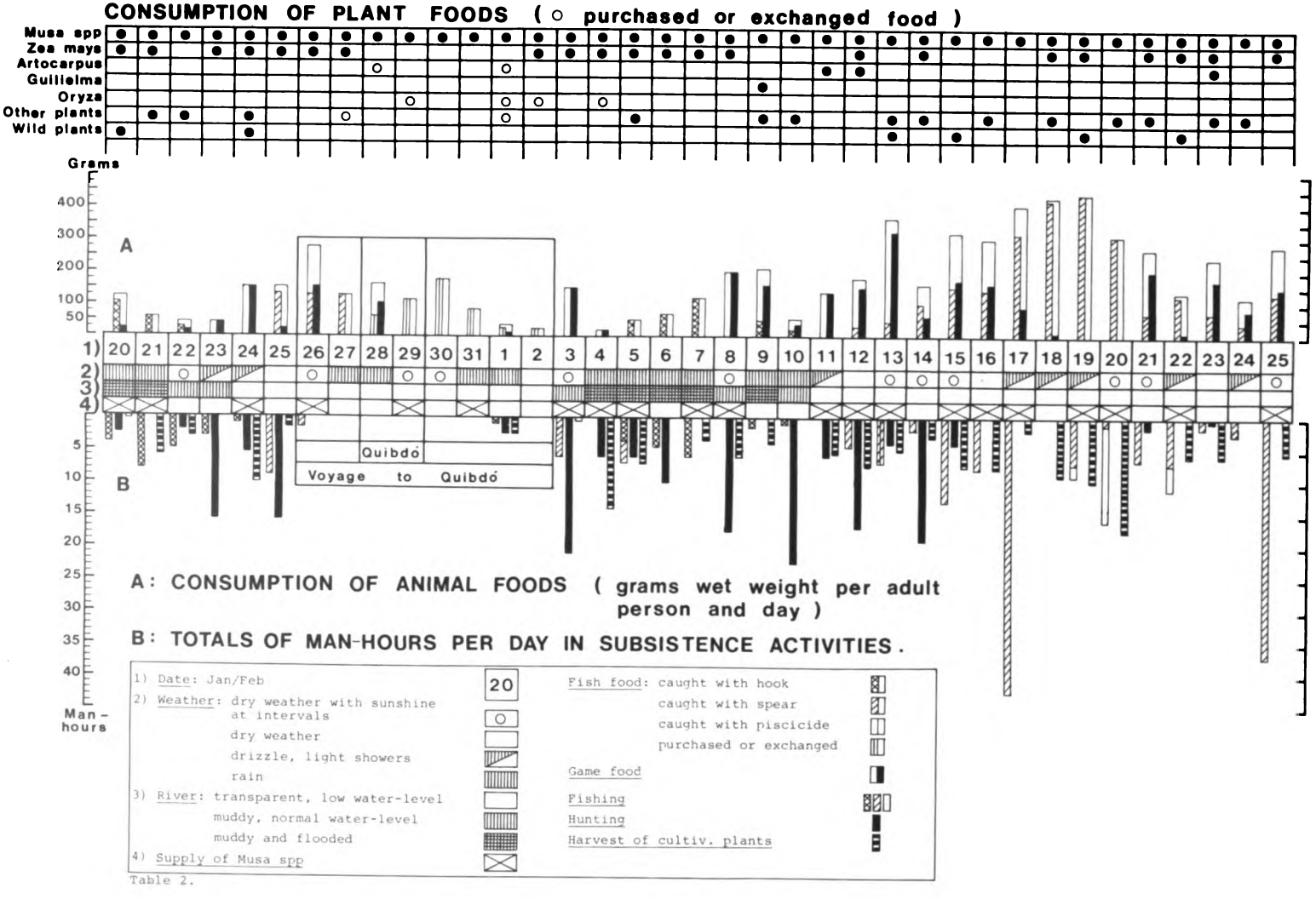


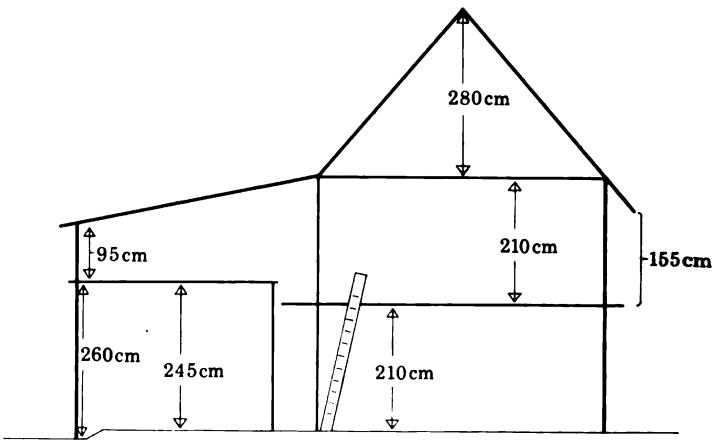
Table 2.

I The dwelling: construction and maintenance (see work diary, 1).

The house Carlos inherited from his father-in-law in Chicué was originally a rancho but later enlargements and alterations have changed it beyond recognition. It is comprehensible that yet another house was being discussed in 1972, because the ten persons that the existing overgrown rancho accommodated is above the average if compared to detailed data from Salaquí in northern Chocó (5-6 persons per house; Costales 1968:22), and Baudó (Dubasa) where the corresponding number in 1971 was 6-7 (571 persons in 88 dwellings), but nevertheless in accordance with the rough estimations proposed by Reichel-Dolmatoff et al. (1960:79).[1]

Besides supply of material, house construction is considered a typical masculine task. According to the annotated work diary, during five weeks 13.5 man-hours were devoted to improvements of the roofing and of certain uprights. This work was repeated later when necessary, but when the kitchen section fell down in 1974, the fireplace simply was removed further in. In short, the dwelling in Chicué at that time had turned into a confusing architectonic mishmash with influences from various local house types.

Generally, the Emberá Indians are described as having two types of dwelling; the conical-roofed house with a square floorplan and a, supposedly later, house with rectangular floorplan and four-shed hipped roof. The Emberá Indians of mid-eastern Chocó, however, distinguish between six different kinds of dwelling: 1) *Dé ará dé* or tambo in colloquial Spanish is the well-known "round" house with the conical roof, already described in the literature from various parts in the Littoral. 2) *Kapuriá dé* or casa de libres (Negro house) is characterized by hip roof and rectangular plan. It occurs all over the Littoral, especially to the south of the Chocó province, but is not very common in this area. 3) *Rancho dé* from Spanish rancho is accordingly a smaller and simply built low, rectangular shelter with gable roof, to which the Indians of the upper Atrato Valley got accustomed early in the colonial epoch. 4) *Inkʰa dé* or "bat house" differs from the almost identical *dé ará dé* in lacking the attic and one of the two tension rings. Another distinguishing detail is a sturdy centre pole which is raised to support the roof structure during the construction and afterwards removed. 5) *Jambá dé* or "canoe house" has a rectangular floorplan with slightly rounded corners and a roof structure extending in a half-circle at both ends, the form of which has rendered this house type its name. *Jambá dé* is so far neglected in the literature, as is the closely related 6) *Jurá dé* or casa de un aro (house with one half tension ring), the roof structure of which protrudes in a half-circle only at one end (see plans below and on the following page).



Jurá dé, on the Nemotá river (1975)

Details of construction:

1 *dé jerõ*	piso
2 *dé jerõ*	piso
3 *dé k^{h}arú*	solera
4 *dé páwara*	chaplón
5 *dé jerõ*	guayacán
6 *kidápõe*	entablado
7 *k^{h}ama*	cama
8 *k^{h}orá*	cercado
9 *k^{h}orá*	cercado
10 *domé*	escalera
11 *tarimba*	cama
12 *ngtarre bema*	soberado
13 *viga*	viga
14 *dé kaú*	solera
15 *dé jurá*	aro
16 *barawá*	barbacoa
17 *dé kaú*	solera
18 *dé ború*	caballete
19 *dé beóga*	costilla
20 *dé kurínka*	cinta
21 *dé enk^{h}ará*	paja

Materials:

1,3,4,6,7,9,12,17: *ará* (barrigona; Iriartea sp)

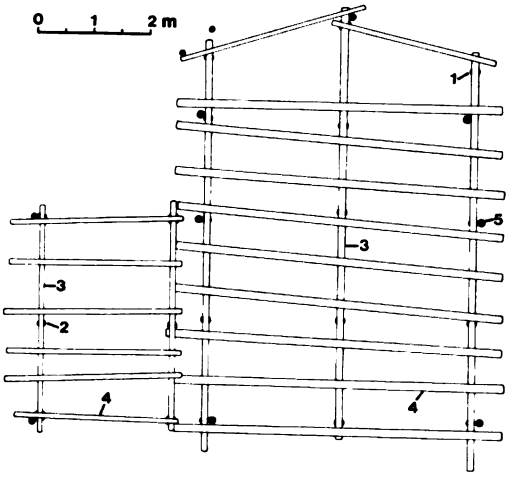
2,5,8,16,19,20: *memé* (memé, palma, chonta; Wettinia spp)

11: *chibugá* (chibugá; Cariniana pyriformis Miers)

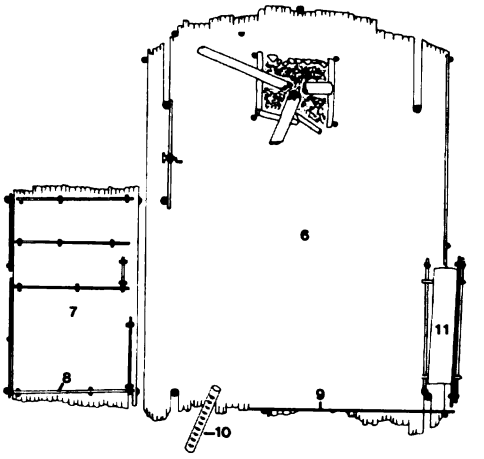
13,14: *koarávi* (liso; unidentified)

15: *sank^{h}ona* (zancona; Syagrus sancona Karst.)

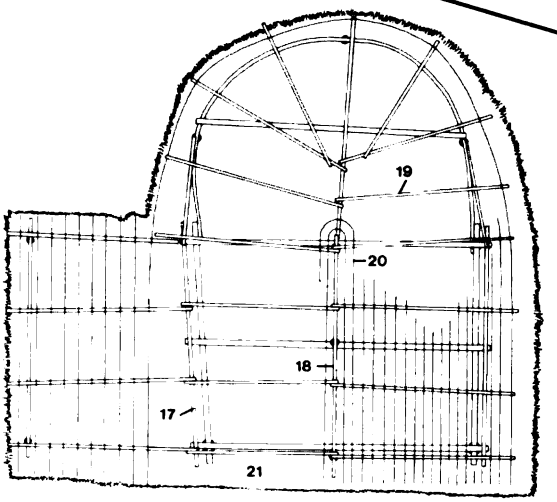
21: *dó kídoa* (cuchillera; Geonoma congesta H.Wendl.Spruce)



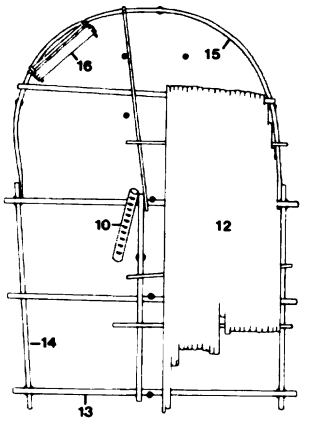
A: *dé jerõ* (piso) floor structure



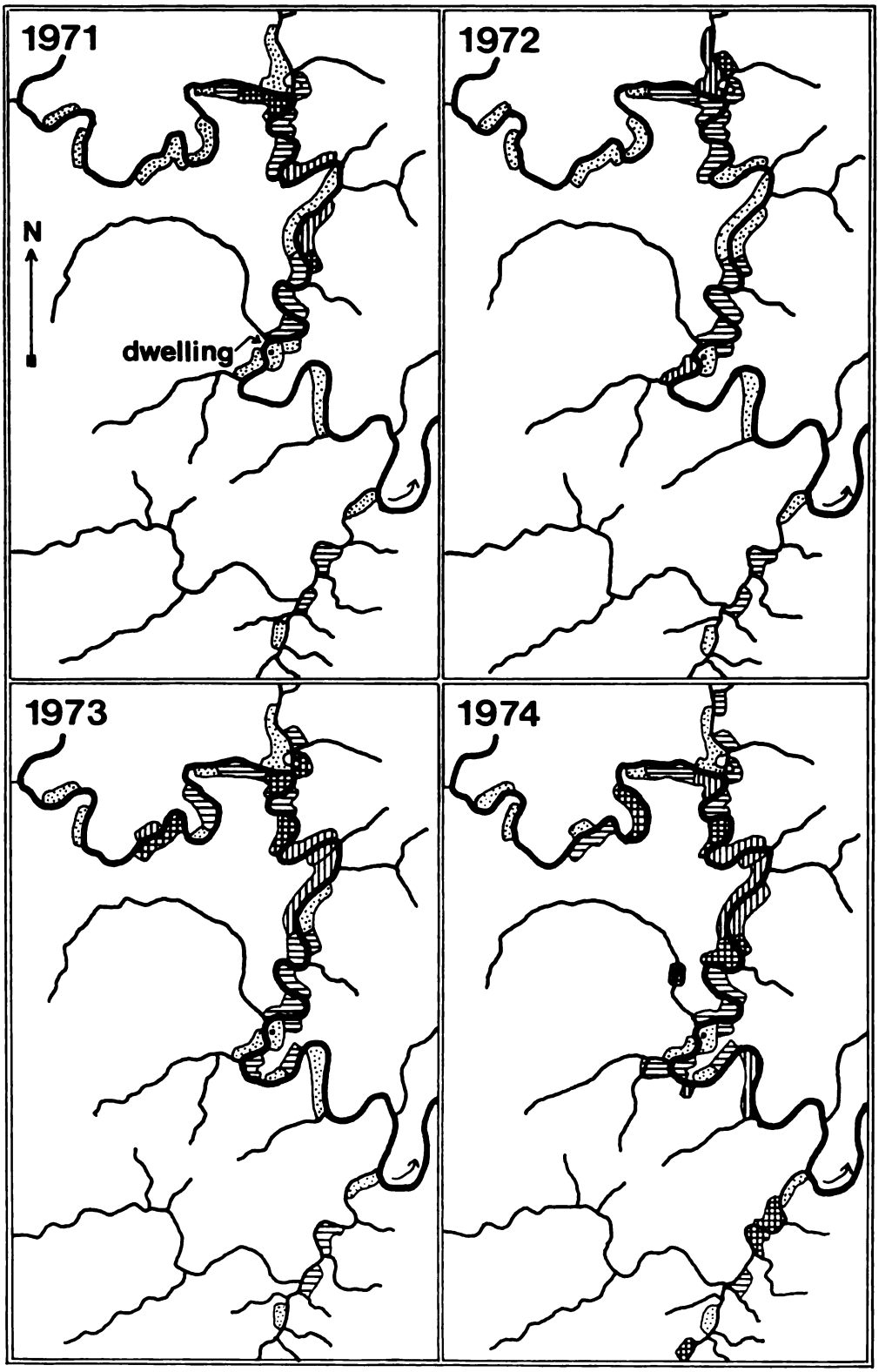
B: *kidápõe* (entablado) floor



D: *dé enk^{h}ará* (paja) roof structure



C: *ńgtarre bema* (soberado) attic



Map 3. CULTIVATED FIELDS AND FALLOWS ON THE CHICUE, 1971-1974.
Maize fields (||||), Musa plantations (≡), fallows (▒).
(Scale 1:25,000)

II Agriculture (2-5, 16).

Soils and fields. Despite the fact that leached and infertile soils make apt farm land rare in Chocó, subsistence agriculture - based on a unique variant of shifting cultivation - is the main source of livelihood. The heavily forested interfluvial areas are unsettled and cultivation borders the rivers as long and narrow patches with an approximative width of 20-40 m. While the black population since the colonial epoch has settled along the principal rivers to till the fertile alluvial natural levees and terraces, the bulk of the Indians nowadays occupies the surrounding hill regions along the upper small tributaries. Formed by recent stream dissection of Tertiary and Pleistocene sediments they present a great variation of soils, mostly leached and highly acid, red and yellow tropical clays (West, 1957:127). The cultivated zone of the Indians on the Chicué is preferably located to slopes (denominated peñas molidas in West, 1957:129), where a relatively rich content of humus supplies nutriment for two consecutive crops of maize and 5-10 years of Musa plantation.

The area exploited for agriculture by the family group on the Chicué during the period 1971-1975 extended 6.5 km along the shores of the river and its small affluent Jampapa. During the same lapse of time the following categories of cultivation and their number were observed:

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975 (Jan)
Fallow	13	12	12	11	15
Maize field	5	7	8	11	6
Musa plantation	13	16	18	24	24
Sugar-cane field	2	2	2	2	2

The width and length of the patches ranged from 30 to 50 meters and from 30 to 275 m respectively, and the area varied between 0.09 and 1.28 hectare (average area: 0.49 hectare). The cultivated area almost doubled in five years. As the commercial interest was non-existent, the reason to this notable enlargement is twofold: the increase of family members and the replacement of old plantations with diminishing yields on exhausted soil.

Cultivated area	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975 (Jan)
Musa spp	5.9	6.8	8.2	10.5	10.5 hectares
Maize	3	3.1	4.6	7.1	2
Sugar-cane	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Total	7.5	8.7	11	13.6	11
Fallow	8.2	8.3	7.1	6.6	9.2

Though there were fallows which were more than 15 years old, a couple of years are considered enough for recovery. As areas of primeval forest also have been brought under cultivation, the fallow reserve has been held relatively stable during this interval of five years. With these indispensable reserves of fallow and primeval forest, including small portions which are unapt for agriculture, a tract of six km along the river, accordingly, would be necessary solely for the agricultural subsistence of this family group.

Land tenure among the Emberá is not based on rights of property but on usufruct, according to capacity and necessity. The head of the Chicué group, Carlos, is the administrator of his wife's land (as she inherited it from her stepmother's family) with the right to allot the usufruct to working members of the family, women included. Through Carlos' wife, the kindred of her stepmother, however, also has a right of usufruct, and there are actually members of the Capá colonizers who still "own" Musa plantations on the Chicué. Similarly, Carlos has the same right to the land on the Bebaramá as long as any member of the family occupies it and defends the interests of his kindred.

Crops and slash-mulch cultivation. A great variation of Musa spp. and of maize (Zea mays L.) are the staple foods of the aboriginal population in central Chocó, the Chicué included. The particular kind of maize, maíz chococito which,

according to Patiño (1956:346), is universally prevailing in the Pacific lowlands, marks off small-sized cobs and grains but is nevertheless well adapted to the climatic conditions. Besides, as distinguished from maize in general, it manages with a minimal human intervention. Roberts et al. (1957:16-17, 118-120) maintain that chococito probably is a hybrid between Tripsacum and "Peruvian confite"; they very often grow together, and apparently it is the latter which has given chococito its requisites to thrive in the Chocó climate. A further morphological and biometric description is given by the authors mentioned above.

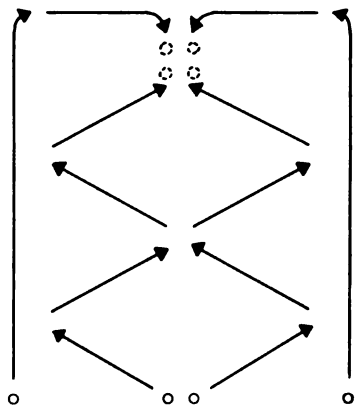
The Indians on the Chicué use six variants of chococito: 1) *bitotó* (frijolito, maíz colorado), 2) *be paisosó* (maíz negro), 3) *be cuará* (maíz amarillo), 4) *nembé cuará* (maíz capio amarillo), 5) *bomba bé* (-, similar to *be cuará*, but with bigger cobs and grains), and 6) *be torró* (maíz blanco). Another variant which is common in the Bebaramá/Bebará/Neguá region, *quinawero bé* (maíz capio pintado) was at the time missing on the Chicué.

The most appropriate time for sowing on the Chicué is April/May with harvest in Sept/Oct. A second crop is sometimes sown in August and harvested in December, but generally with poorer yields. On the lower Tanguí, however, the main sowing-time is prolonged into July/Aug. In 1974 the family experimented with a few crops sown in December with unknown result, as the author left in the middle of January 1975. Anyhow, the most suitable time for sowing varies considerably not only within a specific region but also along the very same river.

The scope of maize cultivation on the Chicué was solely directed by the consumption of the family, as practically nothing was sold or exchanged. In May 1971 the family sowed 3.5 almudes[2] of maize (about 1050 cobs), distributed among the following variants: *bitotó* one cuartilla, *be paisosó* one cuartilla, *be cuará* two almudes and one cuartilla, *nembé cuará* one cuartilla, *bomba bé* 0.5 almud. Three Musa plantations and one fallow were chosen for the crops and the sowing took 12 days in all, with an estimated total of 288 man-hours (four cultivators and six working-hours per day and person). In August one additional cuartilla of *be cuará* was sown in a fallow, making a total of 360 man-hours of maize sowing during 1971. In 1974 the equivalent number was 792, but at the same time the family members had increased from 9 to 15. As seen from the map, during 1971-1974 the majority of the maize was sown in Musa plantations, and once together with a small sugar-cane field. Both 1971 and 1974 gave an average of one almud and one cuartilla (375 cobs) sown per hectare.

The technique of slash-mulch in maize cultivation, as it is practised on the Chicué, follows the general lowland pattern. The sower or more correct "broadcaster" (regador or *chibé pówari*), who keeps the grains in a basket (cuchabo or *ampurú*) hanging from his right shoulder, broadcasts handfuls of grains into the bush of the fallow. He is followed by 3-4 socoladores who cut the bush with rula, *neko* (the machete in Chocó is smaller and not used in the clearing of fields). The cut vegetation is left to decay over the seed. There is a difference not observed in the literature when sowing maize in primeval forest or monte bravo which, contrary to the opinion of Patiño and others, does occur occasionally. In this latter case, the low vegetation is out before the maize is broadcast; subsequently, the high tree vegetation is felled with rula and steel axe. This procedure was also observed among the Emberá of the upper Baudó in 1971.

The combined sowing and slashing (rocería) sometimes is organized into a competitive institution called tonga (*tonga*) which consists of one regador and two kinds of socoladores: two tongueros and two cortadores. With the regador ahead the two cortadores advance with their rulas along the flanks of the fallow to unite, supposedly, in the middle of the opposite side, while the two tongueros diverge and converge by turns in the central part (see fig. next page). With inciting shouts to localize their mates, the socoladores try to outstrip each other before meeting in the middle of the cultivation.



The *tonga* with the *chibe pówari* in the centre, as drawn by an Emberá Indian. Chicué, 1975.

Afterwards the maize field is abandoned inasmuch as no weeding is done; hunting, however, is sometimes practised on vermin like rodents and parrots in the patch. The most noxious animal is, paradoxically, the domestic pig which, let loose in the forest, is able to desolate a whole cultivation. On the Chicué the Indians shut the pigs up in a temporary sty, *china chiquero dé*, while the maize was ripening.

After 2-3 months the maize is edible as choclo which starts to dry on the plant after yet another month. A month later, in October or the corresponding month, the harvest is finished. The growth is divided into the following stages:

be otobodóa	maíz casi espigando	maize nearly earing
be otonúmua	maíz espigando	maize earing
be borobádua	maíz piloteando	maize with cob
be tsaké bijajirábua	maíz choclo	green maize
be uruajirábua	maíz seco	dry maize
be ewadaya	maíz para coger	maize ready for harvest

Seven persons participated in the harvest in October and December 1971 which required 10 days or a total of approximately 420 man-hours. The main harvest in October produced 25.5 almudes (or about 7650 cobs). With 3.5 almudes of seed, a good harvest on the Chicué is considered to yield 30 almudes while a bad one gives only 10-12 almudes. The same criterium is valid among the Emberá of the upper Baudó where a ratio between seed and harvest of 1:10 was stated as satisfactory. The main harvest on the Chicué in 1971 gave a ratio of 1:7 and that of 1974, 1:5.5. Reichel-Dolmatoff (1960:83) furnishes (apparently from the Baudó) ratios of 1:60 and 1:15 as good and bad harvests, respectively, while an anonymous traveller in the upper Atrato in 1777 assignes the proportion 1:15 as a colonial comparison.

Though the maize on the Chicué was stored up in husks in the attic of the house where the fire-smoke conserves the maize and keeps the insects away, a great amount generally gets lost. However, the maize harvested in 1971 was quite enough for own consumption one year ahead as well as for the seed needed in 1972. As might have been expected, the family was not involved in any activity connected with maize whatsoever (except food preparation) when the work diary was kept. However, the total time dedicated to sowing and harvest during 1971 would give an average of 2.14 man-hours per day which should be compared with other food producing activities in table 1.

While maize was consumed on 22 of the 37 registered days, plantains and bananas (Musa spp.) are as estimated and in fact an inevitable ingredient of a complete meal from the Emberá point of view; this is manifested in the food diary where Musa was represented every day and as a rule served three times a day.

Fourteen different species of Musa were cultivated in the plantations on the Chicué 1971-1975: by far most important are *patá* (plátano) and *pirima* (primitivo), then follow *dominico* (dominico), *manano* (banano), *enana* (bananilla), *amparápata* (cuadrado, canaleado), and, finally, a few plants of *manano purú* (muslo de mujer), *manano torro* (muslo de mujer blanco), *manzana* (manzana), *amboromia* (quinojo), *patá asablo* (-), *jerchí patá* (-), *busiá patá* (-), and *yaré patá* (-).

The Musa plantations had a mean size of 0.44 hectare and occupied a total area that increased from 5.9 hectares in 1971 to 10.46 in 1974/75; the causes of this remarkable change have been given above. The most remote plantations from the house were located 3.5 km upriver and 3 km downriver.

During the observed period, 67 hours were devoted to clearing and replanting. The whole family except Carlos participated, and his wife, his daughter and her husband were the keenest workers. In 1971 the same work (two days' work for four persons working six hours a day for an average plantation) demanded approx. 480 hours in all (or a daily average of 1.3 hour) and in 1972, 624 hours or 1.7 a day. These figures tally with the average concluded from the diary: 1.8 hour.

At Musa planting a digging stick, called macana and preferably made of the palm wood barrigona, *ará* (Iriartea sp.), is needed to place the corms in holes about 1.5 meter from each other. Both men and women take part in the planting and the subsequent cutting of the bush. After 9-10 months the stems are ready for harvest. Three stages of growth were mentioned:

patá chiká	plátano biche	green plantain
patá chitó	plátano jecho	plantain ready for harvest
patá puréa	plátano maduro	ripe plantain

The plantain is harvested and generally eaten green (boiled, roasted, or, more rarely, fried). Each stalk bears only one stem of fruit and is cut down when harvested. Though new saplings sprout from the corm, the plantation is now and then replanted when it is cleared. Various plantations on the Chicué are more than 10 years old, but in general a new field has to be replanted after a couple of years.

The family collaborated in the frequent harvest which, however, is a typical female duty. The share of the two adult women amounted to 70% of the time dedicated to provision of Musa, 75.5 hours. Carlos himself went only twice because his wife was prevented going, while his two eldest sons and his son-in-law used to combine it with spear fishing. The small children accompanied the women, learning in playing. Musa stems were brought to the house on 21 days of 37, i.e. every day or every second days; this frequency is well in keeping with the author's experiences among other Emberá groups. Though the household in this case never was in serious want of Musa, the time-absorbing and repeated supply is depending on good transport facilities, a normal water-level in the river, and, naturally, on fields not too distant from the dwelling.

Two kinds of fruit-tree surpassed the remaining cultivated crops in alimentary importance on the Chicué; the peach palm (chontaduro or *jéa*, Guilielma gasipaes B.) and the bread-fruit tree (arbol del pan or *pãntá*, Artocarpus communis). There were fourteen peach palms and six bread-fruit trees, the majority of which was found near the house, as most of the fruit-trees. Although it was stressed upon that each tree has an owner, his right even of usufruct is fictive. Other important cultivated fruit-trees on the Chicué were:

eraka	san juanito	(unidentified)
chocolate	cacao	(Theobroma cacao L.)
kurujó	bacao	(Theobroma bicolor H.B.K.)
bebásojo	madroño	(Rheedia sp)
porĺjo	guayava	(Psidium guayava L.)
lúlojo	lulo	(Solanum quitoense Lam.)
almirajó	almirajo	(Patinoa almirajo Cuatr.)
tabĺjo	badea	(Passiflora quadrangularis L.)
tuétajo	guamo	(Inga sp)
begó	aguacate	(Persea sp)

Fairly far off from the house there were also two small seven year old plots with sugar-cane (Saccharum officinarum L.), which are replanted gradually. One of them contained a "white" variety, caña blanca or *siáso torro* and the other a "black" one, caña negra or *siáso paima*. The slash-mulch technique is quite different from that used for maize. Here the bush is cut and furthermore finely chopped with the rula before the planting. The summit or cogollo of the plant is placed in a hole, made with a macana, in clumps of three holes. At the harvest, four months later, the cogollo is put back into a hole to regenerate. The sugar-cane on the Chicué was only used as a refreshment. Formerly there was a hand mill (trapiche) near the house, but nowadays Negro friends downriver furnish raw sugar (panela) to the family.

Tubers, mainly the sweet manioc (yuca or *viúca*, Manihot esculenta Crantz), seem to have been an important food among the lowland aboriginals, but at present their economic and alimentary rôle is declining and even insignificant in Chocó. No tubers were cultivated on the Chicué but twice the family ate *aching* (rascadera, Xanthosoma mafafa Schott) given to them by friends on the Tanguí. The absence of tubers was ascribed to the ravages of vermin headed by the domestic pig.

In spite of favourable conditions, the family did not cultivate rice (Oryza sativa L.) and never has, as distinguished from the Negro population downriver. Indians in various parts of Chocó, especially towards Panamá, are turning to a profitable rice cultivation to an ever increasing extent, but the Indians in

Sowing rice with macana on the upper Baudó (1971).

the Bebaramá/Bebará/Neguá area still do not cultivate rice and Carlos never learnt "how to do". The recent occurence of rice in Chocó - the middle of the 19th century - is indicated by its aboriginal name *arró* from Spanish arroz, as well as by a refined method of cultivation which resembles that used in sugar-cane cultivation. In the upper Baudó the cut and chopped vegetation is left to dry for a couple of days after which the grains are put in decimeter-deep holes - 6-8 grains in each hole - which are dug at a distance of 50-75 cm from each other and left open afterwards. After six weeks of growth the cultivation is cleared and 2.5 months later it is harvested. In the Baudó a "can" (lata) of rice (= 18 pounds) is expected to produce 6-7 bultos (1 bulto = 25 pounds).

With a rather even percental division of labour in the family, 70.5 hours went into harvesting cultivated crops others than maize and Musa spp. The three youngest boys mostly picked guamo fruits which ripen in Jan-March, while the remaining family mainly gathered fruits from the bread-fruit tree, the alligator pear tree, and the peach palm. This activity was concentrated to the latter dry period of the diary, except casual fruits which were gathered during the frequent harvest of Musa.

Manufacturing and repair of agricultural tools took up totally 3.5 hours (mainly sharpening of the rulas) and the subsistence agriculture of the study group demanded, finally, an average of 7.9 man-hours per day during 1971/72 (38.5% of the food producing activities).

III Gathering of wild plants (6).

In spite of a relatively dry period, only five hours were dedicated to this apparently female occupation. Wassén says (Wassén, 1963:50) that gathering is a men's business among the Waunana, but both various verbal statements and the work diary show that this is done by women among the Emberá, often during their harvest of Musa. The informants on the Chicué named some 60, mostly unidentified, wild fruits and plants, but during this period the family only ate *jiuáta* (uéregue; Astrocaryum standleyanum), *antá* (antá; Phytelephas seemannii Cook), *tonogá* (táparo; Attalea allenii H.E. Moore), and the unidentified *birigá chichijŏ*, *inguedé* and *jurínchichi*. Though these species are not especially representative of any Emberá preference, the time spent in gathering and its trifling economic rôle probably are.

IV Domestic animals (7).

The family owned in early 1972 two boars and three sows, four muscovy ducks (Cairina moschata) and a dozen fowls, the care of which called for 21 hours. Carlos and his second son were the most involved of the family, but both also worked on the construction of a fowl-pen and a cage fixed to the canoe for the transport of a pig for sale in Quibdó. The rest of the time (9.5 man-hours) went into feeding the animals, an occupation that engaged the whole family.

The Emberá Indians generally keep domestic animals as a living capital for the most urgent purchases in the Negro villages, but also as a rare but estimated emergency food. The whole consumption during the study period was limited to six hens' eggs which were eaten on a rainy day (Jan 23) when both fish and game food were scarce.

V Fishing (8-11, 17) :

Freshwater fishing furnishes a considerable portion of the animal food to the Emberá of central Chocó, and the way it was practised on the Chicué does not differ from that of adjacent areas, neither in extensiveness nor in method. The fishing waters of the study group on the Chicué reached 5 km upriver from the dwelling and 8 km downriver when the water-level was low. On the other hand, when the river was muddy and flooded, the fishing was restricted to angling in the nearest small tributaries. While highly depending on rapid fluctuations of weather and river conditions, the only seasonal feature of the fishing appears during the annual ascent (subienda) of *kisaba* (see table 3 for identification) in February when the family sometimes salt and dry small quantities of fish for sale on the Atrato.

Among the 40 species mentioned, *amá* and *toá* are most important, as also can be deducted from table 3 where the most common species are shown. Other species which were not caught during the study period, are *charre* (charre; Rhamdia) and *mómuba* (tuso; Parodon suborbitale). Species of Galeichtys, Thracycorystes, and Ageneiosus which are valuable sources of food in Atrato do not enter the Tanguí/Chicué.

The fishing tackle and techniques in use are relatively few on the Chicué: fishing spear, hook and line, bow and arrow, machete, piscicides, and also by hand. Fishing traps and enclosures are missing as are nets and baskets. Practically all species are caught with the fishing spear, *jiórchia* or flecha which, however, premises transparent water in the river. The spear is a pole of palm wood, about 2 m long and 0.8 cm thick, with 1-3 flued iron points. Until a few decades ago the Emberá Indians used to spear the fish from the canoe or the shore, but today the spear is used with a swim mask for a very effective underwater fishing. It was even asserted that it is one of the principal causes of the diminishing resources of fish in the rivers. The idea of using swim masks in fishing was introduced by Emberá Indians who had visited the Canal zone in Panamá, but the Indians in central Chocó often make them of balsa wood and a piece of glass. The Negroes, on the other hand, have retained the original use of the spear. A special iron fishing spear, jurgadera, is used for catching fish and crustaceans which haunt in burrows in the submerged parts of river banks.

While the fishing spear is used by men, the angling is practised mainly by women and boys, except during periods of high water-level when, by necessity, the fish-hook is used by everyone. More than half the number of species does not bite on hook and is therefore excluded from the menu in times of bad weather (e.g. Cyrtcharax, Hoplias, Prochilodus, Chaetostoma, Ctenolucius, Pseudocetopsis, and Plecostomus). Earthworms (*mokitá*) and locusts (*adíchichi*) are common baits, and the hooks as well as the nylon line are bought in the nearest Negro hamlet.

The useful machete also serves to catch fish such as *dagáchichi*, *chícharro*, and the poisonous *mimbú*, while *toá* and turtles also are caught by hand. The limited use of piscicides on the Chicué was blamed on idleness. Leaves of *chirrinchao* (Phyllantus acuminatus) were ground and wrapped up in small bundles of banana leaves which were placed in crevices of submerged rocks in quiet water. After an hour's wait, the stupefied fish easily can be caught with spear or by hand. A fatal variant of piscicides was observed among the Emberá of the upper Baudó who mixed cooked and mashed plantain with DDT, originally meant for the eradication of malaria. Bow and arrow is appropriate for fishing especially *keuchamba* and *chícharro*, but only exceptionally used.

The work diary reveals that the spear was preferred over other fishing methods; angling is only practised when spear fishing is out of question from the turbid water of a flooded river. Nevertheless, the difference in efficiency between the spear and the fish-hook is by no means remarkable: the spear was used 73% of the total time devoted to fishing and yielded 82% of the total catch (calculated in grams). As stated above, the hook fishing was mostly done

in small quebradas (streams) not far from the house, but in spear fishing the Indians, being aware of the biotope of each species, systematically exploited sections and spots of the river which were rich in fish and which afterwards were left to recover in cycles of 1-2 months.

Sometimes day-long trips were organized which reached outside the normal fishing area; these afforded food to the family for 2-3 days, but generally the catch only sufficed up to and including the breakfast meal the following day.

Repair and sharpening of fishing spears, preparation of hook and line, and collection and grinding of *chirrinchao* fish poison took up totally 6.5 hours of the work diary, while 5.9 man-hours per day went into fishing, and this figure to a certainty is valid for the whole year. The percentage of fishing in subsistence activities would hence be 30.

A fine catch of *toá* (Brycon) is smoked over the fire. Chicué 1972.

The dividing-line between fishing and hunting is vague; this spotted cavy (Cuniculus paca virgatus) was caught with a jurgadera fishing spear. Chicué 1975.

Table 3. TOTAL CATCH OF FISH AND TURTLES, JAN 20 - FEB 25, 1972.

SPECIES			FISHING TACKLE				TOTALS
Emberá name	Local Spanish	Scientific name	Spear	Hook	Piscicide	Other	
amá	sardina	Hemibrycon darienses	42	36	-	-	78
babú	barbudo	Rhamdia	11	4	-	-	15
bairá	bailarín		5	-	-	-	5
beringo	beringo	Sternopygus dariensis	1	-	-	-	1
bosuká	copitona		31	-	1	-	32
chibiguí	tortuga	Geoemyda	-	-	-	3	3
chícharro	quícharro	Hoplias	1	-	-	-	1
dagáchichi	anaya	Pseudocetopsis?	3	-	-	-	3
erteté	boqueancha	Cyrtcharax atratoensis	3	-	-	-	3
guáchida	nicuro	Pimelodus	5	8	2	-	15
ibusumiá	panchita		15	-	-	-	15
jojorro	jojorro	Pomadasys bayanus	1	-	-	-	1
kabawará	dentón	Hoplias	5	-	-	-	5
keuchamba	aguja lisa	Ctenolucius (beani) hujeta	5	-	-	-	5
kisaba	bocachico	Prochilodus reticulatus	10	-	-	-	10
koré	caimán		7	-	-	-	7
koromá	coromá	Plecostomus plecostomus	12	-	-	-	12
mámbura	sapián		5	1	-	-	6
mejorábeta	vieja		32	-	-	-	32
michopa	vieja		32	1	-	-	33
mimbú	pez sapo	Thalassophryne?	4	1	-	-	5
mojarra	mojarra	Cichlasoma	3	12	1	-	16
morokó	tapaculo	Kinosternon	-	-	-	1	1
pachupé	palero		41	-	5	-	46
pemá	pemá	Aequidens	10	1	-	-	11
rorizo	rorizo	Parodon caliensis Boulenger	5	-	-	-	5
sanxoxó	bache	Chelydra	-	-	-	1	1
toá	sabaleta	Brycon	115	9	-	-	124
umpé	boquemanteca	Chaetostoma	16	-	6	-	22
		Totals:	420	73	15	5	513

Table 4. TOTAL CATCH OF MAMMALS, REPTILES, AND BIRDS, JAN 20 - FEB 25, 1972.

SPECIES			HUNTING GEAR			TOTALS
Emberá name	Local Spanish	Scientific name	shot-gun	bow	other	
Mammals:						
busiá	perrico ligero	Bradypus sp	5	-	5	10
butú	ardilla	Microsciurus sp	2	-	-	2
kuriva	guatín	Dasyprocta sp	3	-	-	3
Reptiles:						
ochorró	chochora		-	4	12	16
Birds:						
bidokorochí			1	-	-	1
dabuburraburrá			-	1	-	1
jorjoró			1	-	-	1
jurújuru	tórtola boba		1	-	-	1
karé	lora	Amazona sp	1	-	-	1
kiñará	paletón	Ramphastos sp	2	-	-	2
malimalí	malimalí		1	1	-	2
michitá	chatanica	Pionus sp	1	-	-	1
néjumbu	gavilán		1	-	-	1
samõ	pavón	Crax sp	3	-	-	3
tautaú	bruja		1	-	-	1
tokó			1	-	-	1
tusí	pava	Penelope sp	2	-	-	2
		TOTALS:	26	6	17	49
OTHER IMPORTANT GAME:						
Mammals:						
berówana	guagua	Cuniculus paca virgatus				
bidó	saíno	Tayassu pecari spiradens				
bidóbe	tatabro	Peccari tajacu bangsii				
biguí	venado	Mazama americans reperticia				
jewará chipurú	perrico colorado	Bradypus sp.				
unchurrú	armadillo	Dasypus sp.				
Birds:						
pichí	pichí	Ramphastos sp.				
sokorró	perdiz	Tinamus sp.				

VI Hunting (12-15, 18).

Equipping himself with a fishing spear, machete, muzzle-loader or, more rarely, with a blow-gun or a bow, the Emberá Indian seldom states in advance whether he will go fishing, hunting or anything else; he just "departs for the woods", *meauxaneya*. The meaning of this word is somewhat misleading, however, as even hunting often takes place close to the waterways. Many times the hunter simply waits in his canoe for the dogs to drive the game down to the river where the range of fire is better and the pursuit easier.

The wild life resources in Chocó are by now scarce even in the remoter parts inhabited by the Indians. Big game is relatively rare, and contrary to West's assertion that birds are rarely hunted (West 1957:164), the Indians on the Chicué enumerated 50 common edible animals out of which 23 are birds, mostly small birds (see table 4 for most common animals hunted).

Except the casual and hazard hunting in the cultivated plots along the river or near the house, a hunting trip lasts maximally 10 hours and consists of 1-3 participants, preferably with dogs. The men on the Chicué usually headed for the lomas, the interfluvial forested hillocks, within a radius of 1.5 - 2 km from the house and returned in the gloaming. Emberá Indians in general feel a strong aversion to stay the night out in the woods.

The outstanding hunting weapon is today a home-made muzzle-loading shot-gun which successively has come to replace the bow, blow-gun, and the lance.[3] Most Emberá families in central Chocó now own at least one *pouú* (shotgun) and on the Chicué 78% of the hunting was done with this weapon which is used for any game from the peccary and jaguar down to small birds. Among other hunting weapons which already have been described in the literature, the bow or *enéndruma* is preferred for bird-hunting, though the boys in Chicué also tested their skill in archery on *ochorró* lizards.

"Other hunting gear" in this case allude to machete/rula, and stones. An easier and cheaper way to catch the sloth than to use the shot-gun was to climb the tree and kill the sluggish animal with a machete or, near the river, simply fell the whole tree. Birds and lizards were also killed by throwing stones. No traps were used.

Carlos comes from a region where the blow-gun, *ogú*, still is in use, but personally he does not own any, preferring the shot-gun instead. The lance *miáso* filled an insignificant place in the hunting.

During the study period the family spent 186 hours in hunting, which would give an average of 5 man-hours per day, occupying 28% of the food supply activities. A division of the study period into a category of rainy days (13) and another of dry weather (21 days), shows that the hunting, surprisingly, was intensified on days of "bad" or rainy weather, perhaps due to the unpropitious conditions for spear fishing and a reluctance among the men to use the hook and line. But in spite of hunting more per day in rainy periods, the consumption of meat was less than half the quantity eaten during days of fine weather. The fishing, on the other hand, decreased from more than 8 hours per day in dry weather to 3 hours in periods of rain, but at the same time the consumption of fish food dropped with almost three fourths. A natural interference from this limited study would be that the fishing apparently is a more efficient source of food than the hunting during periods of wet weather. Moreover, the consumption of animal food appears to drop considerably, in this case to less than a third (from 236 to 83 grams per adult person and day). The immediate connection of these flucuations with the conditions of the weather and the river is also discernible in the staple diagram (table 2).

In addition, 26 man-hours or 0.7 per day went into the manufacture of hunting gear, i.e. new arrows and lead shot which were cut from 20 cm long lead bars and shaped with a pestle (*viúkida*) on the grinding stone (*viú*) of the household. As might have been expected, this was done by the hunters of the family, Carlos' two eldest sons and his son-in-law.

VII Preparation of food (22).

At home the Emberá woman passes most of her day near the seat of the fire. This is reflected in the diary where the two women attended to 98% of the preparation of food. Actually, Carlos' wife daily spent 7.5 hours in cooking. Usually, the women also prefer to eat, make their handicraft or just chat around the hearth.

As a rule the Indians eat three times a day but the meal-time varies a lot. On the Chicué the breakfast was served about 7.30 a.m. while the "lunch" could fall in any time between 12 a.m. and 4 p.m.; occasionally it was skipped entirely. When there was plenty of food even four principal meals were served, but during rainy days the food sometimes only sufficed for two adequate meals. The variation and quantity of the meals depends mainly on the outcome of the preceding hunting and fishing. The Indian can stand a day or two with hunger knowing that the next day probably will compensate for it.

There was not any special menu for each meal and Musa was a standing dish; any fish or meat left behind from the previous dinner was saved for the next breakfast. The women served the prepared fish or meat on individual aluminium plates and the Musa in a huge pan, common for all the men and those of the sons who were old enough to "work", while the small children ate with the women near the fireplace. The men sat around the pan on the floor eating and chatting for about half an hour (the time for eating was registered under 29: Rest) until each one demonstratively pushed aside his plate a little to make clear that he had finished, so that one of the sons could clear away the meal while the dogs fought for the scraps of food. The washing up of plates and eating-implements was done by the women up in the house or in the river.

The fireplace is a private domain and an Emberá visitor considers it absolutely out of question to use it without permission. Neither should a visitor show himself as too gluttonous when given food, and he is very strict in collaborating in the daily activities in return for the sustenance and hospitality offered.

Naturally, the men are not lost in cooking and assist their wives in heavy work such as removing the corn from the maize cobs or grinding the maize on the metal meat mincer, but the equally heavy grinding of maize on the traditional grinding-stone *viú* would be unthinkable to a man (lead-shot apparently is something different!).

Dietary. Cooked or smoked meat and cooked or roasted fish served with cooked or roasted species of Musa are the most common dishes among the Emberá who as a rule have a far more varying and nutritional diet than the Negro population in central Chocó. Also by Emberá standards, the alimentation of the family on the Chicué was adequate. A summary of common dishes on the Chicué follows below.

betá (fish)

betá yúda	The eviscerated fish is cooked in "bouillon" (*nema*) of water, salt and bixa. If possible, the Indians nowadays also add onion, coriander, and aliño (seasoning). A very common dish and together with cooked Musa served 22 times during the study period.
betá báda	The fish is eviscerated and roasted with some salt in the embers. Served 15 times.
betá kurumána	The eviscerated fish is smoked on the barbacoa (*baravá*) over the fire for 3-4 hours. Smoked fish is edible for one month.
betá imíma	The fish with some salt is wrapped up in a leaf of hoja blanca and baked in the embers. Can be preserved at most for 24 hours.

betá urúda Fried fish is a rare dish and served only three times on the Chicué. Though the Indians consider the fat (*néndraga*) extracted from the milpeso and táparo palms more palatable, they now prefer to buy fat in the nearest village.

betá kã Grated green plantain is put into a *nema* to cook with fish.

díse A hot "snack" consisting of small pieces of roasted and pounded fish (or meat) which are mixed with large quantity of chilli (Capsicum spp) and eaten during chicha drinking.

némõ embúda Roe with some salt is moulded into a "loaf" and wrapped up in a leaf of hoja blanca and baked in the embers.

(toá)jinchi sopa Cooked entrails of sabaleta (or bocachico) are mixed with mashed, roasted plantains and eaten with cooked Musa.

Chico (meat):

(busiá)chara Fresh or sometimes smoked meat (in this case sloth *busiá*) is cooked in *nema*. Together with *betá yúda*, this was the most common dish on the Chicué (served 23 times).

kurumana Smoked meat. The preparation is identical to that of smoked fish. Often eaten cooked in *nema*.

birachida Smoked meat pounded with the stone pestle and mixed with hot fat.

(samõ)jinchi Cooked entrails of e.g. pavón *samõ* (intestines, stomach, heart, liver, and kidney) mixed with small pieces of cooked plantain.

(tusí)bekâ Maize gruel with cooked pava or other meat with seasonings and salt added.

Be (maize):

chicha Maize beverage. Preparation follows that given in James A. Duke: Darienita's Dietary. Battelle Memorial Institute, Columbus, Ohio, 1970, p.A-23.

birimbí Maize beverage: the bran (*aúso*) is eliminated from the soaked and ground corns. Later the maize is poured into a vessel where the finer bran (*chitá*) is removed and the maize is left to cook with water. Sometimes sugar or mashed, ripe banana is added.

põ, põkurá Maize beverage: the grains are roasted in a kettle for about two hours and then ground twice into a coarse flour. This flour is mixed with cold water. Salt or sugar (cane juice) is often added.

guate A thick maize soup which answers to the mazamorra of the highlands. The bran is separated from the soaked and ground corns by passing the maize through a *samburica*, a sieve resting on a wooden support called *anjou*. The maize is cooked in water and served with or without salt or sugar. *Guate* is an estimated dish but at least on the Chicué it also seemed to be a kind of substitute for fish and meat during longer periods of bad weather. Served 13 times.

guatechicha The *guate* is recooked one day after its preparation which gives it a slightly sourish flavour.

mõte A viscid soup made of maíz choclo, water, and primitivo (or banana) and seasoned with salt, bixa, and, if available, with aliño, onion, and garlic. The primitivo is mashed with a wooden whisk, *sirrsírr*.

tumbú — Some salt is added to soaked and grained grains, and the paste is moulded into 20 cm long "loaves" which are wrapped up in leaves of hoja blanca and baked in the embers. The finer bran (*chitá*) of the maize will also do for *tumbú*.

beká embúda — Maize griddle cake corresponding to the arepa of the Colombian highlands which is roasted on edge near the fire.

be k^hará — Maize grains roasted in a kettle and eaten with salt.

Patá, etc (Musa spp):

patá yúda — Plantain cooked in water and salt. A daily dish on the Chicué, the daily consumption of Musa (including the small primitivo) amounted to 30-35 in number.

patá embúda — Green plantain is peeled and roasted in the embers. Mostly served at "lunch" with roasted fish.

patá purea eparida — Ripe plantain roasted with peel in the embers. A sweet for the children.

dura — Peels of dominico or plantain are dried over the fire and then burned in the embers. After turned brittle, they are put in water to precipitate the ashes. The water is strained through *samburica* and the ashes are added to *guate*.

amboromia sopa — *Amboromia* is mashed with salt and fat.

patá ká — Green plantain is grated with a wooden grater *ibárra* and the paste, with some water, is stirred with *sirrsírr* and mixed with cooked fish in *nema*.

sukura — Beverage of ripe, roasted plantain which is mashed with the wooden pestle, *jojúteu*, and mixed with cold water.

Other plant food: The fruits of the bread-fruit tree are boiled in water or grained and formed into round loaves which are fried with fat. Rice is prepared with salt and water. *Arró ká* is a rice gruel with pieces of meat and seasonings. The fruits of the peach palm are cooked, and, if smoked, can be preserved at most two days. *Jéachicha* is made of the cooked fruits and sugar or panela might be added. Instead of being grained, fermented *jéachicha* is masticated and saturated with saliva by women, like the fermented chicha of maize.

Chicha of masticated maize, flavoured with cane juice, is served by a jagua-painted Emberá woman in small calabash cups placed on the "altar" of a *jaibaná* medicine-man. During a nocturnal seance this chicha is offered to the members of the family as a preventive measure against misfortune and enemies. To the left hangs one of the *joropo kirá* which guide the tutelary genius of the *jaibaná* from the river to the ritual performance inside the house. Carlos, the family head on the Chicué river, was a *jaibaná*, but did not carry out any ceremonies during the period of the work diary.

VIII Supply of firewood (23).

The heavy work to furnish the household with firewood (*tubú*) every week occupied totally 12 hours of the work diary. The men provided the heavy logs while the women chopped and split the wood in the house. 3-4 logs with the burning ends facing each other in the hearth are almost always smouldering and serve also as supports for the cauldron.

Like other Emberá, the family on the Chicué uses matches for fire-making but, if necessary, the original fire drill *sugú*, made of *kanchí* (bija; Bixa orellana), is employed.

Besides the reflections from the fire, the house by night is lighted with *lámparas*, metal oil lamps made from old meat tins, or torches of bees wax *kandorna* and ashes of balsa wood rolled up in a leaf of *inguedé* (amargo; Welfia regia) and placed in a tripod of balsa wood called *imbíra k^{h}oábata*. On the Chicué, however, clumps of bees wax sometimes only were left to burn on the fire logs.

Fire-making with the *sugú*. Chicué 1972.

IX Handicraft and clothing (19-21, 24).

Basketry is solely manufactured by women among the Emberá, though the men sometimes collaborate in collecting the material. Basketry took up totally 48 hours on the Chicué, two thirds of which went into the manufacture of baskets and fire-fans for sale. Other household utensils of wood, including those for food preparation, are carved both by women and men. Pottery making, a women's work, is now absent in mid-eastern Chocó, except casual production of huge *sokó* jars for chicha storing.

Handicraft which was not linked with any of the occupations mentioned above, occurred only sparsely and refers to some manufacture and repair of different tools and personal belongings, particularly the sewing of clothes! Carlos' son-in-law who grew up in the more acculturated region of the upper San Juan River, took great pride in sewing himself new shorts now and then and brought Carlos' oldest son to follow him. The former never wore the original loin-cloth and, according to the others, in fact did not know how to "handle" them. He is, by no means, unique; various Emberá men sew their own short-sleeved, gaudy shirts and feel ashamed of showing themselves in a Negro village without a pair of trousers over the loin-cloth. Except the replacement of purchased cotton for bark-cloth, Emberá clothing, however, has been the same for centuries. The men still wear their loin-cloth, *andiá*, and the women their knee-long skirt, *paruma*. *Andiá* of bark-cloth has disappeared, but in Carlos' native area the men until recently wore an *andiá* of bark-cloth with a men's *paruma* (like the Emberá/Catío of northwestern Antioquia) and Carlos remembers having seen men from Capá with the proper *andiá* of bark-cloth. After a fishing-trip or the like, the wet *andiá* is immediately changed for a dry one, and, perhaps with the exception of this minute garment, the washing of clothes, blankets, and sleeping-mats of bark-cloth is exclusively a women's task.

X Travels and trade (25-27).

In roadless Chocó the rivers are the highways of communication and transport, and the typical dugout canoe is a necessity to everyone. The *jampá* dugout has very pleasing lines but is, nevertheless, a heavy and robust craft which endures the rapids and stones of the headwaters for about a year. Preferably it is made of *chibugá* (Cariniana pyriformis Miers) or *chachajo* (Aniba perutilis Hemsl.) and varies in length between 3 and 7 m. The manufacture of a canoe implies about a week's work for two men. After a rough moulding of the exterior of the future canoe, the log is brought near the dwelling where the canoe is hollowed out and completed with an axe, an adz (*jaimé*) and, finely, with a home-made European plane. Though the Emberá Indian very often is working on a new *jampá*, either his own or participating in a minga collaboration group, the men on the Chicué river dedicated as mush as 194 hours on canoe-making during the study period. This is probably not a normal figure, but it is explained by the fact that the family once lost all the canoes in a nocturnal shower and also was robbed of a canoe in Quibdó.

Punting the *jampá* dugout through the rapids of the Micorá river (1972).

Treacherous forest trails connect navigable headwaters and lead into the adjacent highland valleys of the Cordillera Occidental. Man is the unique beast of burden, carrying large burden baskets on the back with a tump line around the forehead. In the same manner, travellers can still be seen carried in chairs which are strapped to the back of Negro silleros, like those the Indian carriers used during the colonial period. The photo to the left was taken by the author in Pie de Pató, Baudó, in 1971.

Trade still plays only a minor rôle among the Emberá of central Chocó. Generally, Negro retailers buy wholesale from the Indians who prefer to make their sojourn in a village as short as possible. In exchange of their agricultural products and handicraft, the Indians buy salt, pots and pans, kerosene, cloth, gunpowder, lead, and various kinds of trumperies, knick-knacks, sweets, etc. The Chicué study group travelled to Quibdó every other month, but spent an insignificant share of their working time on trade; 6.3% out of which 2.8% went into the production of goods.

XI Rest and sleep (28-30).

Though the presence of the author has to be considered, the figures in table 1 probably give a fairly adequate idea of the "leisure time".

XII Absence (31).

On a few occasions it was impossible to record in detail the activities of some of the family members. After a heavy nocturnal shower the river once ran so high that the family lost all the canoes (3). As this aggravated the provision of food as well as most of the outdoor activities, the family twice had to borrow canoes by friends downriver. The activities during these voyages were of course not registered in the diary (163.5 hours).

When the family travelled to Quibdó, Carlos next youngest son, his daughter, and her husband remained in Chicué (26 Jan - 2 Feb). The latter, who was the only one who was able to read and write, during these days kept a simplified but interesting diary which to some extent expresses a different way of seeing the daily life of an Emberá family (see appendix below).

Conclusions.

This paper is mainly a modest attempt to substantiate the numerous generalizations on Chocó ecology, but the inquiry on the Chicué study group, despite its limited scope, also fairly well elucidates the principal features of the unique ecological environment in mid-eastern Chocó because of two main reasons: 1) Though there might be occasional slackenings of precipitation, this area lacks any specific dry season which would generate a seasonal differentiation of the economic activities. 2) The genuine subsistence economy of the study group facilitates an interpretation of the regional ecosystem and its manifestations in the Emberá culture.

The lack of similar comparative material thwarts an evaluation of tangible data on production and work obtained on the Chicué, but figures that indicate agricultural areas and the amount of work devoted to the various food producing activities, most likely are adequate for any Chocó subsistence economy with similar ecological pre-requisites.

The actual Chocó subsistence economy reveals several rudimentary traits which, undoubtedly, are accentuated through the dependence on one major food resource, the plantain, impelling a preoccupation for an insecure, daily food supply with limited possibilities of transport and storage, while the alternative staple food, the seasonal maize, easily can be stored for a longer period of time.

When the Spanish arrived at mid-eastern Chocó at the beginning of the 17th century, the aboriginal population lived dispersed along the rivers as small and independent bands. The futile organization of the population into sedentary villages led to violent reactions, partially because of the burdensome tribute and the bad treatment, but the bulk of the complaints revolved round the insuperable difficulties of food supply; at the end of the 18th century the Indians of Quibdó had to travel by canoe more than a week to reach their plantations along the affluents of the Atrato. With the abolition of the Spanish colonial administration in the 1820s, the villages, consequently, were deserted once and for all and the superimposed political organization dissolved.

The ecological peculiarities of a widely extended riparian variant of shifting cultivation characterized by a sole predominant cultivated staple food which calls for harvest every other day has probably given rise to, or at least emphasized the actual riverine pattern of settlement with separated dwellings. Precluding the possibility of sheer romancing by several unanimous first-hand sources, the situation apparently was different on the eve of the Spanish conquest. Travellers and eye-witnesses describe vividly and in detail clusters of houses and permanent multi-family dwellings in the Atrato Valley as well as along the Chocó coast. Remnants of these peoples perhaps survived in the remoter parts of the Baudó Range until the late 17th century.[4] Archaeological evidence indicates a similar pattern in southern Chocó; on the lower

San Juan River Reichel-Dolmatoff found the vestiges of what he maintains were concentrated and relatively permanent settlements. "Even if we leave aside the post-Columbian feeding plants like the plantain, the banana..., it seems that the aborigines in this region, some thousand years ago, had managed to adapt themselves to such a degree in their sylvan environment to render possible a sedentary life in relatively big and permanent settlements" (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1962:60).

The matters might, however, be precisely the other way about, the absence of plantain cultivation being the vital point for the development and preservation of a village life. It is a notorious fact that the plantain is not included among the indigenous cultivated plants mentioned from the Isthmus and the Chocó coast by early 16th century chroniclers who, instead, point out maize as the main staple food among the lowland population. An agricultural basis of seasonal crops with a well adapted kind of maize in the first place, demonstrably, would allow of surpluses sufficiently large for the formation of an incipient village life, documented both by contemporary written sources and archaeological finds. If that is so, then the introduction of the plantain (probably during the middle of the 16th century) as a second staple food perhaps became one of the reasons that obliged the native population to abandon its former sedentary life for a looser pattern of settlement which still is a characteristic trait of the Pacific lowlands of Colombia.

Notes.

1) Historical comparisons are difficult to get at, as colonial census were made on a nuclear family basis, but an interesting exception from the Chocó village of San Francisco Javier del Raposo (15 houses) in 1728 furnishes us with an average of 20 persons per house (Archivo Central del Cauca, Popayán: Sig. 3331, Col. CII-7t).

2) Three maize cobs = one "hand" (mano); two "hands" = one "house" (casa); 50 "houses" = one almud (four cuartillas).

3) The use of firearms is no novelty; already in the early 17th century guns formed a coveted booty in the skirmishes with the Spanish troops, and about 1640 the local Spanish authorities reported that the Indians on the upper San Juan River had got "eight guns, gunpowder, and ammunition with which they fire and many of them learn to shoot..., and they kill monkeys with them" (Archivo Histórico Nacional de Colombia: Caciques e indios, tome 68, folios 531r and 543r).

4) In 1673 the Suruco were reported to live in a single "village" near the Munguidó River, western affluent of the Atrato (AHNC: Caciques e indios, tome 11, folio 979r).

Embera men from the upper Baudó river area (1971).

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APPENDIX:

Diary kept by Carlos' literate son-in-law, Abelardo:

26/1	Abelardo (25)	Yolanda (22)	Tocayo (11)
a.m.	estaba pescando con jiórchia	estaba cortando plátano	se pué a pescar con jiórchia
p.m.	comimo plátano y prinitibo y sabaleta asao	cosinó plátano y prinitibo y se asó sabaleta	comimo plátano y prinitibo y sabaleta asao
27/1			
a.m.	comimo prinitibo y buchiá junchí	cocinó prinitibo y se iso buchiá junchi iso guate de maíz	comimo prinitibo y buchiá junchí
p.m.	comimo plátano asao con hochorró comimo guate	asó plátano y asó hochorró comimo guate	comimo plátano asao con hochorró comimo guate

28/1			
a.m.	comimo carne de perico con prinitibo después de que se comimo carne de perico tomamo guate	iso cardo de perico i se cosinó prinitibo, calentó guate en el fogón después se puse a repartir	comimo carne de perico con prinitibo después de que se comimo carne de perico tomamo guate
p.m.	pescó con ansuelo		pescó con ansuelo
29/1			
a.m.	comimo prinitibo con carne de perico cortó leña y después cojió chontaruro con garabato	cosinó prinitibo y comió carne de perico cortó prinitibo y banano y rrecojió chontaruro	comimo prinitibo con carne de perico
p.m.	comimo prinitibo con ubevo de gallina	cosinó prinitibo y ubevo de gallina	comimo prinitibo con ubevo de gallina
30/1			
a.m.	comimo prinitibo con cardo de pescao y estilló leña con hacha estaba pescando con jiórchia	cosinó prinitibo con cardo de pescao suvió a la casa el leña labó ropa	comimo prinitibo con cardo de pescao rrecojió a la chanpa estaba pescando con jiórchia
p.m.	comimo chontaruro	cosinó chontaruro estripó el pescao	comimo chontaruro
31/1			
a.m.	comimo plátano asao con cardo de pemá tunbó valso y se clabó varsa cortó leña con hacha y despues estilló el leña con hacha	asó plátano yso cardo de pemá se subió a la casa el leña	comimo plátano asao con cardo de pemá aconpañó
p.m.	comimo plátano asao con dentón asao comimo ñame con cardo de pemá	asó plátano y dentón tanbien se asó cobó ñame cosinó ñame yso cardo de pemá	comimo plátano asao con dentón asao iso sango para perro comimo ñame con cardo de pemá
1/2			
a.m.	comimo banano i sabaleta jué a casar i se mató un pava iso otra vé el varsa porque se pué rriavajo	cosinó banano i se asó sabaleta iso chicha	comimo banano i sabaleta iso masa
p.m.	comimo masa comimo carne de pava con plátano asao	comió plátano iso cardo de pava i se asó plátano	comimo masa comimo carne de pava con plátano asao
2/2			
a.m.	comimo mananilla con carne de tortuga tomó chicha	cosinó mananilla i tortuga tomó chicha	comimo mananilla con carne de tortuga rrepartió
p.m.	comimo carne de pava con plátano asao	se /asó/ plátano i carne de pava	comimo carne de pava con plátano asao

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